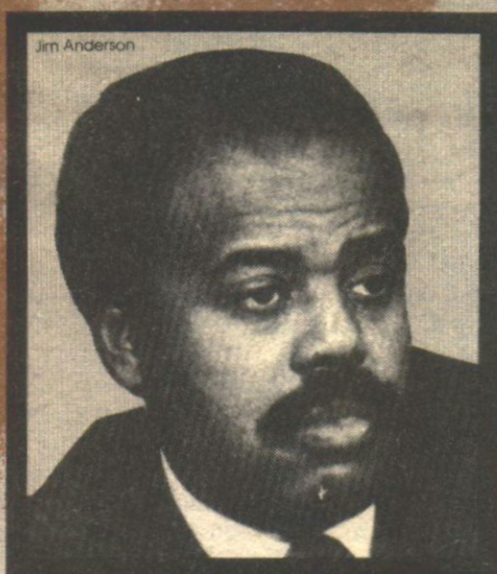


## STARING IN THE DARK



**The Security Council praises U.S. restraint, but goes easy on Iran. Page 3**



**The Iranian council silences Bani Sadr's voice of moderation. Page 8**



**Rockefeller's bank starts a new attack against the Iranian revolution. Page 9**



# THE INSIDE STORY



## Israeli Musical chairs: same old tune

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

After months of coalition maneuvering and public bickering, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin finally gave his government a badly needed second wind by reshuffling cabinet posts early in November. Central to the rearrangement was the replacement of the disastrously unpopular finance minister Simha Ehrlich by another successful businessman, Yigal Hurvitz.

The government's foundering image may have been strengthened for a while, but it still faces foreign and domestic problems that threaten to cut its life short and bring elections earlier than scheduled, in mid-1981.

The debates over West Bank settlements and Palestinian autonomy are no nearer resolution than before. Now, the right and religious blocs are demanding a massive new settlement program as "compensation" for the court-ordered removal of Eilon Moreh from privately owned Arab land near Nablus. "Dovish" Moshe Dayan's exit from the cabinet, combined with Hurvitz's re-entry (he left in protest against Begin's concessions at Camp David last year), points to an even harder line in negotiations with Egypt over the territories.

The government is also under attack from its ultra-religious Agudat Yisrael allies for failing to repeal parts of Israel's relatively liberal abortion law. If brought to a vote by the end of November, as now promised, the anti-abortion bill could technically provoke a government crisis. Begin's majority in parliament has already been eroded from 80 seats two years ago to 65 out of 120 today.

But the main cause of the government's unpopularity—polls indicate a decisive Labor win if elections were held today—is not foreign policy, nor the emotional abortion debate, but the same issue that defeated Labor in 1977 and brought Begin's Likud to power—Israel's troubled economy.

Outgoing finance minister Ehrlich became bitter and cynical towards the end of his tenure as his Liberal Party colleagues moved to make him a scapegoat for

the economy's woes. The "New Economic Program" unveiled by Ehrlich two years ago is a failure. It was intended to stimulate the sluggish economy by liberalizing credit restrictions, tearing down protective tariffs, devaluing and then floating the Israeli pound, and eliminating all foreign currency controls. Inflation, then 30 percent, was to be reduced by drastically cutting state expenditures, especially "wasteful welfare programs" and subsidies on basic food items.

In short, Ehrlich had declared an end to "socialism," a word that right wing opponents used to describe all the ostensible undesirable phenomena of waste, bureaucracy, corruption, and hypocrisy associated with 30 years of Labor rule.

### Increased chaos.

But the attempt at "liberalization" has only brought more chaos. Despite the rhetoric about a "pure" market economy, the state remains Israel's largest employer, investor, and dealer in foreign currency, and it continues to use its obvious power to manipulate the flow of goods and services. Some steps have already been taken to reverse the "freedom," and more are rumored.

Imports have increased and export growth has slowed, damaging the country's balance of payments. Without tariffs to protect local goods and incentives to subsidize exporters, the products of Israel's relatively low-wage, low-productivity industry cannot compete in Europe. And the fear of massive displacement and unemployment has prevented a major retooling that could change that situation.

Foreign investment has risen, though largely counterbalanced by the continuing flight—now legal—of Israeli capital. Much of the capital inflow in 1978 was in the form of short-term loans that enabled Israeli investors to circumvent the high prices of local, still restricted, credit. Israeli finance institutions suffered until the hole was finally plugged early this year with a surtax on foreign borrowing.

### Renewed inflation.

In the year since the government clamped down on foreign credit, the rate of inflation has risen to over 100 percent, fed by gargantuan military expenditures (officially one-third of the state budget but these figures exclude indirect military costs) and debt service (almost another third). The government is paying for a third of its budget by taking new foreign loans and printing money.

Finally, last year's catch-up devaluation of over 65 percent vis a vis the dollar (which itself fell a great deal compared to other currencies) made triple-digit inflation inevitable in a country that imports so much.

Nor do prospects look better for next year. Israel will have to purchase all of its oil once the Sinai wells are returned to Egypt on Nov. 25. And the U.S. has made it clear that it cannot meet Jerusalem's request to cover Israel's projected 1980 deficit of \$4.5 billion.

Ehrlich said openly in 1977 that the success of his economic plan depended on keeping wages down, and tolerating some "temporary" unemployment. Otherwise, the labor shortage and high costs would stymie the new investment needed to revamp the economy.

But the stronger unions—and particularly state employees—have successfully used threats, slowdowns, and strikes to keep up with inflation. The Labor Party-controlled Histadrut workers federation has been more militant than in the past.

But the Histadrut has also given tactical support to Israel's private manufacturers. It opposed cutting off cheap, state-backed credit to industry on grounds of "national interest," but cynics pointed out that the Histadrut itself is a major manufacturer and the second-largest employer after the state.

The cheap credit for lightly taxed private investment has not been used to modernize Israeli industry. And Merhav blames the Histadrut in part. Afraid of unemployment, it has acquiesced to a labor-intensive, low-technology and low-wage industrial sector. Merhav cites a revealing statistic: wages per unit of output in Israeli exports have fallen 27 percent since 1970.

The new finance minister, Yigal Hurvitz, is now talking tough about "resisting unjustified wage demands," cutting subsidies (to the poor, not to industrialists) and trimming government payrolls. The Histadrut is already promising resistance to "drastic" measures, and its Labor Party bosses, whose past management of the economy looked good compared to the current mess, are trying to hold their divided ranks together long enough to win an election. It is unlikely that Israel's workers will seek a more radical alternative, as long as the nation is preoccupied with the possibility of another war.

## Food prices shoot up

Thousands of angry Israelis poured out into the neighborhoods of Jewish West Jerusalem Nov. 20 to protest drastic price increases on basic food items.

A day earlier, Israeli finance minister Hurvitz announced the abolition of subsidies on basic food items.

The price of milk and milk products has doubled overnight, with bread, cooking oil and utility costs also jumping upwards. At the same time, Hurvitz declared that thousands of public employees would be fired and health and education budgets drastically cut.

The demonstrations were put together by loose-knit community groups, with prominent support from the Israeli Black Panthers, a protest movement of Oriental Jews that first sprung up in the early 1970s and is currently enjoying a mild revival.

In the Musrara neighborhood, where the Panthers originated, police watched helplessly as a squad car burned and local residents shouted slogans against the recent government decision to spend another 150 billion Israeli pounds (about \$5 billion) on new West Bank settlements. The sum contrasts to the nine billion pounds the government hopes to save through abolishing subsidies on basic food items.

Slogans against settlements were a new addition to demonstrations against price increases, which have occurred before in Israel's slums while the Labor Party was in power. In fact, dissatisfaction with the government's economic and social policies made the Oriental Jewish community Menachem Begin's strongest electoral base in 1977. Now that base is quickly eroding.

Protests continued the next day, though on a smaller scale. Tempers continued to flare as several of the 20 arrested protestors were ordered held for investigation.

The demonstrators blamed police for initiating the violence and Black Panther leader Charlie Biton took full advantage of his parliamentary seat to stage headline-grabbing guerrilla theater in the legislature.

When no one seemed to be listening to his shouts, he turned around and delivered an impassioned speech to the wall. A legal demonstration against prices was scheduled for Nov. 27.

Finally, in a development of far-reaching potential significance, the Panthers and other Oriental leaders asked followers to a Nov. 24 rally against West Bank settlements called by Peace Now—an organization that, until today, has been made up mostly of middle class Jews of western origin.

—D.M.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

**IN THESE TIMES**

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, third week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

### EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor; Lee Aitkin, Managing Editor; John Judis, Political Editor; Patricia Aufderheide, Cultural Editor; David Moberg, National Affairs Editor; Mark Naison, Sports; Wilfred Burchett, (Asia & Africa); Diana Johnstone, (Paris); David Mandel (Jerusalem); Chris Mullin (London); Bruce Vandervort, (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents; Steve Rosswurm, Librarian.

### BUREAUS

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 8 Thayer Place, Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 738-9707.  
DENVER: Timothy Lange, P.O. Box 6159, Denver, CO 80206, (303) 388-3850

NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638.

### ART

Tom Greensfelder, Director; Jessie Bunn, Associate Director; Dolores Wilber, Assistant Director; Jim Rinnert, Ann Barnds, Composition; Pam Rice, Camera; Ken Firestone, Photographer.

### BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Jan Czarnik, General Manager; Pat Vander Meer, Circulation; Bob Nicklas, Advertising/Promotion; Bill Rehm, Office; Steve Rosswurm, Special Projects.

### SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright ©1979 by Institute for Policy Studies Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. All rights reserved. IN THESE TIMES is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All editorial, advertising, and business correspondence should be sent to: IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to: 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, IL 60650. Subscriptions are \$19.00 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$32.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.



IN THESE TIMES

# UN supports American sobriety

By Mike Shuster

UNITED NATIONS

**"S**O FAR SO GOOD," WAS THE way one progressive African ambassador to the United Nations summed up President Carter's handling of the Iran crisis. For more than five weeks, Americans have been held hostage in the American embassy in Tehran and despite what amounts to jingoistic demands for military action from some quarters of American society, not the least of which have come from some members of the press, the Carter administration has apparently settled down to let time and U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim find a way to free the hostages.

Time now appears to be on the side of the U.S., primarily as a result of two developments: the convening of the UN Security Council and the decision to grant the deposed shah of Iran some form of semi-permanent "sanctuary" in the safe confines of Lackland Air Force Base near San Antonio, Texas.

No one here ever believed that the U.S. would extradite the former shah, and the move to San Antonio lays the question to rest. The message now from Washington to Iran is clear: the shah stays put.

At the same time, the Security Council has completed its deliberations on the crisis, with the U.S. clearly hoping that the council's message will be heard in Tehran. All told, more than 35 nations spoke before the council, and from Canada to Panama, from the Soviet Union to Kuwait, they all agreed that the hostages must be released without preconditions.

Great Britain's ambassador called the Iranian action "an outrage to diplomatic relations anywhere." Egypt's ambassador termed the action "unacceptable," and Panama's representative condemned the Iranian government as "guilty of an illegal act."

## Sympathy for anti-shah feelings.

But unexpectedly, the tone of the speeches before the council has been firm without being severe, and a surprising number of delegates have expressed sympathy with Iran's charges against the former shah and its demands for the redress of grievances. "We must understand," said Kuwait's Ambassador Abdullah Bishara, "that passions that were suppressed for three decades and recently found an outlet are bound to be strong, deep, and spontaneous. With the eruption of passions, old wounds and genuine grievances are bound to surface. We should not be surprised by this fact, by the immensity of passions."

Several Western nations—clearly preoccupied with insuring the continued flow of Iranian oil—were also quick to acknowledge the justice of Iranian outrage at the shah. France's ambassador said he understood "the emotions felt by the Iranian people." Even U.S. Ambassador Donald McHenry said, "None of us is deaf to the passionate voices that speak of injustice, that cry out against past wrongs and that ask for understanding."

The U.S. has put away the big stick, at least for the time being. The U.S. approach to the crisis has emerged as patient and moderate in tone. U.S. officials clearly hope that this constraint, supported unanimously in the Security Council, will have its effect.

"We are looking for some way," said one U.S. official at the mission to the UN, "that we can both free the hostages and offer the government of Iran an adequate means of airing their grievances."

Most delegates here are openly relieved that Washington has adopted this sober strategy, after Carter earlier flirted with



U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Donald McHenry, left, and the Iranian delegation, paying close attention to the proceedings last week.

## The tone before the Security Council has been firmly for the release of all hostages, but also sympathetic with Iran's charges against the shah.

the threat of military intervention. Speaking on behalf of the Scandinavian countries, Norway's Ambassador Ole Algard praised Carter "for the courageous and mature leadership he has provided to this nation at a time when it has been put to a severe test. His deep commitment to finding a peaceful solution has our full support."

Many delegates here certainly did not expect any rash moves from Carter, and many from the Third World—whether on the right or the left—approved of what one Caribbean ambassador called Carter's "firm but cool" handling of the situation.

Most delegates have been pleased to see U.S. officials emphasize a non-military solution during the last week of the crisis. That same Caribbean ambassador said that use of military force would "swing what amounts to widespread support for the U.S. away." In the Security Council, Malawi's ambassador called on the council to ensure that "the threatened flexing of military muscle by the U.S. is immediately discouraged by withdrawing all the weaponry of death and destruction which has now been deployed in the Persian Gulf."

Fear of an American military move is so intense here—one African delegate

said he believed if it came down to it, the U.S. "would use it"—that U.S. mission officials have openly attempted to discount force as an option. One official said there is "no intention" to do anything "that would amount to any aggressive action."

A military move on Washington's part, incidentally, would not be without its repercussions in the West. Sources say that Spain, heavily dependent on Middle Eastern oil, would almost certainly ban the use of the massive U.S. air base at Torrejon if Washington launches a military strike. This base has, in the past, been the main staging point for U.S. flights to the Persian Gulf.

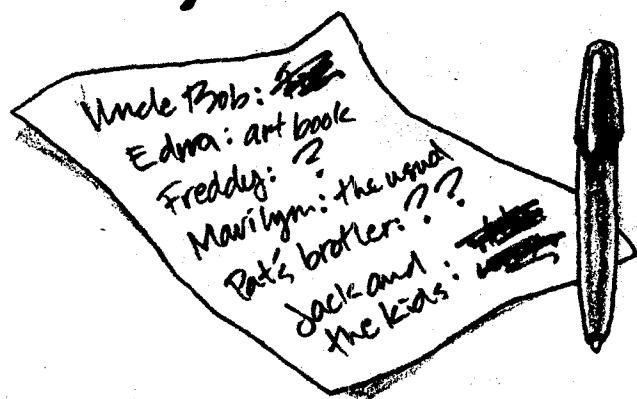
By mid-week, the Security Council had adopted a resolution that reflected Washington's gingerly handling of the crisis. The resolution called for the release of the hostages and asked for the U.S. and Iran to try to work out their problems. There was no condemnation of Iran, and Washington never seriously considered pressing for the application of economic sanctions against Iran. Also dropped for now was any suggestion of establishing an "international tribunal" to investigate the crimes of the deposed shah, although that idea is still floating through UN corridors.

That leaves it up to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to continue his efforts as mediator. Waldheim has been in regular contact with the new Iranian Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, but as yet there is no telling what effect the unanimous voice of the Security Council will have in the mosques and on the streets of Tehran.

Michael Shuster is a United Nations correspondent for Pacifica radio.



# Why suffer?



Forget the jingle bells, the crowds, the noise. Give your friends and relatives a gift for the whole year with a stroke of the pen. And give yourself a hassle-free holiday, with gift subscriptions to *In These Times*.

Each week they'll get a news package that's succinct, sound and from a socialist perspective. They'll get thoughtful, behind-the-scenes reports like those you read last year from Nicaragua. They'll get in-depth interviews like those you read with Barry Commoner, Isabel Letelier, Ron Dellums, Tom Robinson, Holly Near and Howard Cosell. They'll get analysis of major economic problems, like David Moberg's series, "Shutdown!" And first-hand news from Diana Johnstone in Paris and Joanna Foley in New York.

Give them a gift you know they can use. It's easy. Just fill in the blanks below, and banish the pain of last-minute shopping. We'll send your friends a gift card notifying them of your present, while we fill your order. Don't worry about a thing.

In fact, we'll make it even easier for you. The more you give, the cheaper it gets. Your first gift sub costs only \$17.50, nearly half-off the newsstand price. Your second gift sub costs \$16.50. The third and all other year-long subs cost only \$15.50.

Want to send a friend a six-month sampler? The same deal applies. It's \$8.75 for the first six-month sub, \$7.75 for the second, and \$6.75 for the third and all others.

Give your friends ITT now and make your shopping list that much shorter.

**Note:** Gift subs will not begin until after January 1.

## Save On The First Gift

STH3

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ \$17.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$8.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card \_\_\_\_\_

## Save Even More On The Second Gift

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ \$16.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$7.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card \_\_\_\_\_

## Save Still More On The Third Gift (and each additional gift)

Please send *In These Times* to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ \$15.50 for one year of *In These Times*.

☐ \$6.75 for six months of *In These Times*.

Sign gift card \_\_\_\_\_

YOUR NAME \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ I enclose payment. ☐ Bill me after January 1st.

☐ Charge my: ☐ Master Charge ☐ Visa

Account # \_\_\_\_\_

Expiration Date \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: *In These Times*, 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, IL 60650

## SHUTDOWNS



Steelworkers protesting U.S. Steel's decision to eliminate 13,000 jobs demonstrate in the U.S. Steel building lobby in Pittsburgh.

# U.S. Steel cuts back

By Eric Leiv Davin

PITTSBURGH

**O**N NOV. 27, THE \$13 BILLION United States Steel Corporation, the nation's largest steel producer, announced the closing of sixteen plants in eight states, some as early as Dec. 21. The 13,000 jobs eliminated represent approximately eight percent of the company's work force of 166,00.

In the Pittsburgh area alone five plants employing almost 2,000 workers will be affected, including the American Bridge Division plant in Ambridge, Pa., the largest structural steel fabricating plant in the world and the source of 1,500 jobs in the town. (At the same time the St. Joe Zinc Company has announced that it will close its plant in nearby Monaca, Pa., idling 1,000 workers. The combined closings represent almost 10 percent of the manufacturing jobs in Beaver County.)

In Youngstown, Ohio, which lost 4,000 steel jobs in 1977, another 4,300 workers will be dismissed at U.S. Steel's Ohio and McDonald Works. In January, the Lykes Corporation also intends to close its Briar Hill works, idling another 1,500 workers.

U.S. Steel chairman David Roderick stated that "The operations being terminated at this time have become noncompetitive for a variety of reasons, including operating cost, unfairly priced imports, or excessive environmental spending requirements."

Some observers argue that the company has contributed to its own problems, especially in the area of compliance with Environmental Protection Agency regulations. The Securities and Exchange Commission ruled last September that the company had fought a deliberate delaying action against EPA orders to clean up its open hearth furnaces or shut them down by 1982. Now, faced with threats of lawsuits and huge fines, U.S. Steel has committed \$400 million in the Pittsburgh area alone to bring plants into compliance.

Ironically, few of the 16 plants to be closed have open hearth furnaces. Most are finishing facilities that process ingots into wire or railroad wheels. Big steel's strategy, according to some, is to cut back its involvement in these products while using the closings to wring concessions from the government and the steelworkers union.

Roderick stated Nov. 28 that "Our company doesn't support the concept of industrial welfare, the concept of bailouts. We believe you have the right to succeed and the right to fail." But the industry does want a bailout, of sorts, from the government. U.S. Steel is lobbying heavily for accelerated depreciation of its plants and equipment and for concessions on federal tax and environmental laws.

Workers and union officials—who challenge company claims that the sixteen plants are money losers—view the closings as part of U.S. Steel's get-tough strategy toward labor. At the Ohio works in Youngstown, workers had been led to

believe that the facility was turning a profit and that it would be kept open as long as it was making money. Since last February, workers and management have worked hard at making the Ohio Works an asset to U.S. Steel. The work force was reduced from 5,000 to 2,500. Steel production was halved and the eleven old McDonald mills nearby were consolidated into six units. The 80-year-old plant won a profitability contest last year, beating out a modern U.S. Steel plant making similar products in Baytown, Texas.

"We gave voluntarily," said Robert Vasquez, president of U.S.W. Local 1330. "The supervisors told us we did everything humanly possible...Now we feel clobbered, like we've been treated dirty...They've taken the money they've made here and reinvested it in hotels, in Disneyland. They've bought chemical companies. They've diversified so much, steel no longer is the big money maker for them."

Several weeks ago the company gave an ultimatum to American Bridge Workers in Ambridge and Shiffler, Pa., and in Gary, Ind.: either accept a wage freeze or the "American Bridge division will cease to be a source of job opportunities for steelworkers." When workers at all three locations rejected the freeze, Roderick stated that the workers "have made their decision. We as a company must live with and respect this decision. We are not asking for any reconsideration." The Ambridge plant was then ordered closed "irrevocably." (The Gary plant was spared.)

Workers in Youngstown feel that the cuts have been timed to influence next year's contract negotiations, which will begin in three months. On Nov. 30, 400 steelworkers from the Ohio Works, accompanied by 100 workers from U.S. Steel's Homestead plant, marched on company headquarters in Pittsburgh. The night before, Frank Leseganich, the union's district director for the Youngstown area, counseled the workers against "overreacting" and refused to join the march. He was widely criticized by angry rank and filers, who spoke of striking or occupying the plant.

Neither a strike nor an occupation seems likely. But the union may sue to open the books at the Ohio Works. Staughton Lynd, lawyer for the Youngstown workers, has charged that U.S. Steel broke a contract with the workers to keep the plant operating as long as it turned a profit. If the workers can demonstrate that the plant was profitable, they may seek an injunction to keep the plant open.

In addition, the workers want some say in how a \$225 grant from the Economic Development Administration of the U.S. Dept. of Commerce is used to save jobs in the Youngstown area. Rather than construct a new coke plant, which would employ only 600 workers, the leaders of USW Locals 1462, 1418 and 1330 want the money spent to modernize one of the closed plants such as Briar Hill. U.S. Steel should be forced to invest money in updating the Ohio Works instead of building its new dream plant in Conneaut, Ohio, they insist. ■



By Bob Howard

WASHINGTON

**T**WO YEARS AGO, AMERICA'S COAL industry embarked on its longest and most destructive conflict in over fifty years. Before the 109-day strike was over, two labor agreements had been rejected and the 30-year-old system of collective bargaining between the United Mine Workers of America and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association severely shaken. "Even if the contract is ratified," predicted *New York Times* correspondent Ben Franklin near the end of the three and a half month walk-out, "the jarring legacy of the strike seems an invitation to three more years of trouble."

But today industry, union, and even government officials are pointing to a different legacy. With surprising unanimity, they say coal is a phoenix risen from the ashes. Instead of trouble, there is a new consensus between management and labor, a new co-operation to solve the labor problems that have plagued the industry in the recent past.

Some believe this new consensus is revolutionizing the entire industry. "Gone is the coal industry of stagnation and decline," says BCOA president Joseph Brennan in a Morgantown, W. Va. address. "Gone is the fractious, beleaguered industry, incapable of growth and unwanted within our society. A new, vibrant and dynamic industry is emerging, as different from its past as the computer from the adding machine."

Only a few years ago, wildcat strikes raged throughout the coal industry. From 1975 to 1977, an average of 3000 unauthorized work stoppages per year caused a loss of 62 million tons of coal production. Since the last contract was signed in March 1978, however, wildcats have declined precipitously—by 90 percent. Over-reliance on the cumbersome and time-consuming industry arbitration procedure, often a cause of wildcats, also seems to have declined. Under the 1974 contract, the UMW's District 17 in West Virginia had as many as 53 arbitration cases per month. Nine months into the new contract, the figure was down to about fifteen.

Coal mine health and safety has been a consistent source of conflict during the past ten years. But last September, UMW and BCOA representatives announced a "joint commitment" to improve health and safety in the mines.

Union and industry have even co-operated in a multi-media publicity campaign to champion the increased use of coal.

Finally, both UMW and BCOA leaders have publicly proclaimed their desire to negotiate the 1981 contract without a strike. Says the BCOA's Brennan: "I'm looking forward to announcing the new agreement with the UMW and hearing people say, 'I didn't even know you were negotiating!'"

#### Local grievances.

Far more important than co-operation at the top, insiders say the new consensus is also "getting translated down to the field." The fundamental principle underlying increased industry-union co-operation is to resolve workplace conflicts when and where they appear: at the mine-site itself. Some companies have begun aggressively to pursue local resolution of workplace grievances, thus reducing arbitration and improving the general labor climate.

The Westmoreland Coal Company has instituted a "preventive labor relations" policy founded on "open communication with all levels of the UMW management" and "settling all disputes at the lowest possible level." A laudatory article in the *UMW Journal* claims that "company heads are now openly supporting union causes."

Most explanations for this apparent turnaround in coalfield labor relations eventually return to the traumatizing effects of the 109-day strike. Says one Labor Department coal expert: "The realization grew out of the strike that if both the companies and the union are to survive, they have to change their way of doing business." But behind any such change in attitudes is a powerful economic motivation.

Increased co-operation comes precisely when coal is suffering a serious slump. Markets for metallurgical coal—used in fabricating coke for the production of steel—are severely depressed. In West Virginia, where about 40 percent of coal production is metallurgical, over 10,000 miners have been laid off since last January. Steam coal, used to generate electricity, is also in big trouble. Production capacity significantly exceeds demand, primarily because electrical consumption since the early '70s has lagged far behind most predictions.

This gloomy economic picture has pushed the companies and the UMW together in several ways. Both sides have joined forces in Ohio to oppose environmental restrictions affecting that state's high sulfur coal. Moreover, convinced that the future of their industry depends on demonstrating coal's reliability to both the government and the public, they have worked hard to cultivate the image of the modern, dynamic, dependable industry.

The supreme expression of this alliance is the President's Commission on Coal. Established in the weeks following the last strike to investigate industry labor problems, the Commission is the major facilitator of the new consensus. It has primarily been a government spokesman for coal interests. "At first we saw settling down the industry as our key role," says a top Commission official, "but that shifted to pushing coal as an energy source under encouragement from both the companies and the union."

The Commission's July interim report dealt solely with demand. It recommended an ambitious program for increased use of coal to cut U.S. oil imports 16 percent by 1985 and 50 percent by 1990. Meanwhile, the Commission's final report, slated for completion sometime early next year, will most likely celebrate the new spirit of labor co-operation in the industry.

#### Labor stability.

If the poor economic situation provides the most convincing motivation for the

# COAL

Part I

INDUSTRY

## A new era for coal threatens miners



Earl Dotter

IN THESE TIMES DECEMBER 12-18, 1979 5  
new consensus, it also explains the much heralded labor stability in the coalfields. Major lay-offs in Appalachia, so soon after a financially exhausting strike and concentrated in southern West Virginia where rank-and-file militancy has traditionally been high, has stifled labor unrest and work stoppages. "People are not about to strike when they think they will lose their jobs," says Joel Price, a coal financial analyst at Dean Witter Reynolds. A federal official, quoted in *Coal Age*, the trade magazine of the industry, echoes this idea: "The real test of how well the union is in hand will come when those markets firm up."

The new consensus is a marriage of convenience that draws the veil over more significant developments in coal industry labor relations. Put simply, the UMW and the BCOA are announcing their new-found *modus vivendi* just when the system of collective bargaining is beginning to fall apart.

The coal industry has always been a welter of contradictory interests based on region, type of coal, and even mining technology. It took decades of severe labor conflict before the present bargaining structure, balancing a centralized union against a centralized industry association, was established after World War II. This structure provided a national contract with uniform benefits for all union miners.

#### Disintegration.

Now this framework is facing serious fragmentation. The weakness of the UMW encourages centrifugal forces within the association; companies pursue their own interests without fear of isolation or reprisal. During the last strike, the clash of contradictory interests split the BCOA between intransigent metallurgical coal producers, particularly the steel companies, whose depressed markets made a quick settlement unimportant, and more "liberal" steam coal producers, more willing to settle so as not to lose expanding markets. This split prolonged the strike.

This breakdown is exacerbated by a major structural change in coal: growing control by corporate conglomerates, particularly major oil companies. Between 1965 and 1977, 27 coal companies were acquired by oil conglomerates. Eleven of the top 20 coal reserve holders are oil companies; they own 25 percent of all the coal in the U.S. By 1985, oil-controlled subsidiaries should produce 50 percent of American steam coal. One company alone, Consolidation Coal, a subsidiary of Continental Oil (known throughout the industry as 'Consol'), owns 13.7 billion tons in reserves—more than any other company and, theoretically, enough to supply the entire nation for fifteen years.

Most analysts welcome the entry of big oil into coal as a much needed force for "rationalization." But rationalization means systematic deterioration of control over working conditions for miners. A top priority of the energy conglomerates is to extend corporate authority and control over the workplace.

Thus, during the most recent strike, Bobby Brown, former labor relations expert at Continental and now president of Consol, allied with the steel companies in support of a punitive contract featuring harsh disciplinary measures against wildcat strikers. The miners beat back this threat, but the corporate offensive has continued.

Last May Consol announced its withdrawal from the BCOA. Early this fall, the major steel companies threatened the same move, unless steel executives are given a greater role in BCOA negotiations. Whatever the future of the association—either increased fragmentation or consolidation under the control of the conglomerates—Consol's withdrawal is merely one element in a policy to pressure the UMW for substantial concessions. Using litigation to enforce labor policy, the company has tried to win through the courts and arbitration what it was unable to win during the last strike.

After signing the 1978 contract, most companies dismissed damage suits against local unions for unauthorized work stoppages in 1977. Consol not only main-

*Continued on page 12.*



# NO NUKES

FROM THE MUSE CONCERTS FOR A NON-NUCLEAR FUTURE • MADISON SQUARE GARDEN • SEPTEMBER 19-23, 1979

THE DOOBIE BROTHERS • JACKSON BROWNE  
CROSBY, STILLS AND NASH • JAMES TAYLOR  
BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN & THE E STREET BAND  
CARLY SIMON • GRAHAM NASH • BONNIE RAITT  
TOM PETTY & THE HEARTBREAKERS • RAYDIO  
NICOLETTE LARSON • POCO • CHAKA KHAN  
JESSE COLIN YOUNG • RY COODER • JOHN HALL  
GIL SCOTT-HERON • SWEET HONEY IN THE ROCK

EIGHTEEN ARTISTS  
AND TWENTY-SEVEN SONGS.  
A VERY SPECIAL THREE-RECORD  
SET CONTAINING A FULL-COLOR,  
SIXTEEN-PAGE BOOKLET.  
NEW ON ASYLUM  
RECORDS AND TAPES.



© 1979 Elektra/Asylum Records • A Warner Communications Co.



By Horace Levy

KINGSTON, JAMAICA

OVER THE PAST TWO AND A half months Jamaica has been rocked by a violent anti-Cuban campaign and a series of marches and demonstrations organized by the opposition Jamaica Labour Party. The People's National Party government has retaliated strongly, mobilizing a massive turn-out of supporters and launching a vigorous counter-offensive against the JLP newspaper, the *Daily Gleaner*.

This latest attempt to bring down the government is clearly not succeeding. Two days after 45,000 demonstrated in support of Michael Manley and his government, the *Gleaner* printed a "cool it" front-page editorial and has taken to printing self-defensive full-page ads. Labor leader Edward Seaga overreached himself by going to Washington to allege to newsmen there that the government was planning a "military solution."

But the battle is far from over. The JLP leadership is still pressing for certain short-term goals. The economic picture is grim. And it is important to take a close look at what the Lebanese American-born Seaga has been attempting, with the manifest connivance of certain elements in the U.S.

The opening salvo in the JLP campaign was the party's violent response to a firm but friendly statement made by the newly-appointed Cuban ambassador to Jamaica, Ulysses Estrada. In fact it appears that the anti-Cuban march—for which 19 foreign journalists were conveniently at hand—as well as subsequent events were all part of a plan drawn up before Estrada even landed in Jamaica.

The apparent starting point was Seaga's resolve to bring things to a head in the second half of 1979. Charles Meynell of the British journal *Euromoney*, reporting in August on an earlier interview with Seaga, said "He has to do something over the next few months or it's too late for him. This is what Seaga believes."

On June 20 the *Economist Foreign Report*, edited by Robert Moss of the Institute for the Study of Conflict, described Seaga as believing "that if Manley can cling to office for the rest of the year, there will be little hope of defeating him before the scheduled 1981 general election... Hence the current mood of urgency." "Fear of the Manley government's Cuban connection," the *Report* declared, "is one of the strongest cards the JLP can play."

Principal among the reasons assigned for Seaga's urgency was the belief, which was much stronger in the earlier part of the year than now, that the economy was bottoming out and that by elections in 1981 the country would even be seeing a small turn-around. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was considered to have staked much of its prestige on the success of its methods in Jamaica.

But there were other reasons as well for the JLP's efforts—declining PNP support under the IMF-imposed hardships, JLP uncertainty about drawing enough of the new 18 year olds' vote, the growing strength of the Communist Workers Party of Jamaica, the recent return of the Marxist Dr. D.K. Duncan to the position of PNP General Secretary, and, far from least, the American connection. Seaga's twisting of the Cuban Ambassador's words occurred at the same time that President Jimmy Carter was attempting to make political hay from the 17-year-old presence of a Soviet training unit in Cuba. The similarity and synchronization between the Seaga push for power and the Carter hard line for the Caribbean were indeed so obvious that Seaga felt compelled to blunt criticism by referring to it himself—as a charge his enemies would "concoct."

#### Carter policy.

For months prior to the recent muscle-flexing at Guantanamo Bay the Carter administration had been moving toward a tougher policy for the area. Interventionist proposals were put by Cyrus Vance to the Organization of American States in connection with Nicaragua. And U.S.



A pro-Manley demonstration in rural Jamaica. "Jashua" is Manley's biblical name.

## The opposition to Manley takes a violent turn in Jamaica

State Department official Richard Feinberg, during his early-August tour of the English-speaking territories, stated that the U.S. government could not rule out future military involvement in the Caribbean countries.

Seaga for his part has always been pro-American, but even more avidly so in recent months. He keeps a house in Miami and bounces there or to Washington before or after every episode in Jamaica. He is known to be in frequent contact with such CIA-backed institutions as the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University and its British counterpart the Institute for the Study of Conflict.

After Carter's pronouncement on troop build-up, the JLP issued a statement welcoming the move. During the week of the JLP's largest rally and march the U.S. Embassy in Kingston, Jamaica, brought in \$700,000 more than usual and the day before the rally the U.S. ambassador warned his staff to stay off the streets in a circular that gave the exact time and location of the march.

But recently Seaga seems to have carried his North American connection too far. In October, the day after a violent clash between his followers and those of the PNP, Seaga told a gathering of newsmen in Washington that the government was planning a "military solution" and that it was establishing a 20,000-strong Home Guard armed with Cuban weapons.

No one in Jamaica saw any sign of such mobilization. The 8,600-member Home Guard, which is firmly under the direction of the police, includes many JLP as well as PNP members. Back in Jamaica, Seaga's defense of his statement seemed weak. And he was widely criticized for damaging Jamaica's efforts to revive the tourist industry and attract foreign investment. He has been accused of painting a picture of instability and even of inviting foreign intervention.

Seaga's statements in Washington followed upon the mid-October clash at National Heroes Park, involving stones, bottles and gunfire. The occasion was the unveiling of a monument to national hero (and JLP founder) Alexander Bustamante. The JLP regarded the event as a partisan affair, the government as a national occasion. Not only was the violent exchange inevitable, it may well be

that the whole thing was cleverly engineered by the JLP leadership to discredit Police Commissioner Desmond Campbell and bolster the JLP demand for an "impartial" Police Service Commission.

#### Seaga's arrogance.

But the violence also demonstrated the heights Seaga's arrogant bullying had reached. Prime Minister Manley's invitation to the Opposition Leader to "have a reasoning" with a view to easing political tensions was roundly rejected: The Police Service Commission, came the reply, would have to come first.

Indeed there is hardly an institution that has not been abused and treated with contempt. The police commissioner was himself reported to have been roughed up at Heroes Park in the presence of leading members of the opposition. D'Costa has poked fun at the chief justice for his minor role on the same occasion and derided "the teachers, the businessmen, the doctors, the civic leaders, the churchmen" for "cringing and mumbling." Other news media and their reporters have been abused and threatened, and the Press Association of Jamaica branded "Communist."

The JLP leadership is not just running amok, though it may look that way. The rationality in Seaga's tactics is that the weak and uncommitted tend to follow the stronger man—and that the fascist mind always equates strength with brute force.

There is also a weak reactionary element—"weak," that is, in its commitment to rightist policies—within Manley's party and government. In June the JLP leadership convinced the government to establish a bi-partisan electoral commission. Seaga is now offering to trade peace for one of several other commissions he intends to set up in due course. He knows how much the government—and its reactionary element in particular—wants a good tourist season and foreign aid.

#### Tolerance.

Despite its attack on the *Gleaner* the PNP continues to tolerate the paper, supporting it by millions of dollars of advertising annually, while at the same time forcing the government-backed *Daily News* to buy newsprint from the *Gleaner* at over twice the imported price.

The weakness of the PNP government's position stems primarily from its having gone to the IMF and accepted IMF terms. That was the fundamental victory of the right and all else follows. The IMF-caused hardships take a daily toll on PNP ranks.

The scene is not, to be sure, entirely gloomy for progressive forces in Jamaica. The PNP is still able to mobilize substantial numbers, which surprises even themselves. It has exploited the blunders made by Seaga. The offensive against the *Gleaner*, for all its limitations, has thrown that paper into the fear that it might become what the CIA was in 1976, the "de-stabilizer" that the PNP's propaganda used to win the election.

Still more important has been the return of D.K. Duncan to office, which has signalled the strengthening once again of the left in the PNP. He in turn has been the central figure within the Party in the firm stand it has taken against Seaga's recent blusters and maneuvers. Of great importance also is the quiet steady growth of the Communist Workers Party. When their column, 1,500 strong, reached on PNP rally, the crowd parted with cries of "let the revolutionaries through."

But it remains to be seen whether this firm stand against Seaga's attack can be converted into the vigorous counter-attack needed if the PNP is to win the 1981 elections. The economy is in a perilous state (as a subsequent article will attempt to indicate.) Some fear the government may not survive an IMF review this month and that the U.S. decision to cut off aid to Manley may have been precipitated by his Havana speech. Even within the IMF framework there are domestic measures Manley could take to ease the harshness of economic conditions—measures such as monitoring prices, pushing on with land reform, keeping a watch on import licenses, re-opening businesses which have been closed and passing a long-touted anti-lay-off law. The left is increasing the pressure on him to act in these directions. Along with the appropriate political explanation of the situation, these are crucial steps in the region's movement towards socialism. ■ Horace Levy is a former priest and a journalist for the *Daily News* in Kingston, Jamaica.





Bani Sadr, right, the deposed Iranian foreign minister, with other leaders of the revolution.

## Has Khomeini fallen in a trap that isolates the revolution?

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**B**ECAUSE HE HAS IDEAS AND enthusiasm to express them, Abdul Hassan Bani Sadr has been a favorite of Iranian revolution watchers. One of the few laymen in the ayatollah Khomeini's entourage of mullahs, his amiable and tolerant manner and above all his economic development theories have aroused sympathetic interest among people who would like to see Third World countries find their own course of social progress, independent of the superpowers. When, after the fall of Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Bani Sadr took over as minister of foreign affairs, finance and economy, the Iranian revolutionary government finally seemed to be in the hands of someone with a coherent policy aimed at creating the material foundations for achieving the ideals of social justice proclaimed by the ayatollah. But three weeks later he was fired as foreign minister, and his hold on the finance and economy minister job was precarious. His experience in and out of office, as he told it to numerous journalists, provides a glimpse of the dynamic of a revolution adrift.

In October, with the blessings of Khomeini, Bani Sadr's newspaper *Islamic Revolution* attacked the pro-American leanings of the Bazargan government. In previous weeks, the zeal of the mullahs had been largely directed at denouncing the left, while the government, with no clear economic policy and intent on combatting regional autonomy movements, was drifting back to normalization of relations with the U.S. The shah's arrival in the U.S. enabled the left to rejoin the Islamic revolution in a new burst of anti-imperialism. Radical students occupied the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and the Bazargan government fell.

Bani Sadr was propelled into office by an uncontrolled mass action whose anti-imperialist thrust he approved and needed in order to impose his policy line, but whose form—the holding of hostages—was all wrong. His problem was to direct this popular energy into constructive channels. Within the revolutionary council, he argued that holding hostages was

unworthy of an Islamic country, that it was a "gift" to President Carter by enabling him to easily mobilize world public opinion against the Iranian revolution, and finally that it threatened the revolution at home, both by focusing attention on the artificial issue of the alleged "crimes" of embassy employees who, at worst, were mere instruments of their government's policy, and also by encouraging disruptive behavior. He complained that work was coming to a halt in various offices where employees were taking their bosses as "hostages" and that it was impossible to get the country reorganized in such an atmosphere.

### The Sadr strategy.

Bani Sadr wanted to go to New York to attend the emergency session of the UN Security Council in the hope of getting a compromise resolution partly favorable to Iran. He knew the Security Council would condemn the holding of the American diplomats as hostages, but he hoped it would also recognize Iranian grievances against the shah and recommend a peaceful solution to the conflict. Thus the incident could at least enable Iran to use the UN as a forum to present its case against U.S. collusion with the shah.

To this end, he set a team of 50 government officials working day and night in various ministries gathering documentary evidence to use in explaining Iran's complaints. Informed sources said the team had found the account books of the Imperial Palace's secret funds with the names of well-known journalists, newspapers and American politicians who had received payments. The same sources said one of the documents cast doubts on the integrity of Henry Kissinger. With these "secret weapons," Bani Sadr hoped to sway American public opinion and even create a "new Watergate."

Bani Sadr hoped that the prospect of such a public opinion victory could persuade Khomeini to get the students to release the hostages. But meanwhile, his rivals and enemies in the revolutionary council were using his efforts on behalf of the hostages to portray him to the imam as unduly soft on Americans.

According to *Le Monde*, Khomeini

# DOUB

## Hardliners are in cc

vetoed Bani Sadr's strategy at a meeting of the revolutionary council in Qom Nov. 27. Bani Sadr blamed this defeat on his main rival, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh. As director of revolutionary radio and television, Ghotbzadeh has earned the hostility of much of the intelligentsia for censoring just about everyone but the strict religious factions. Bani Sadr accused him of sabotaging his strategy by a radio-TV campaign presenting the security council session as a plot to disgrace Iran. This persuaded Khomeini to boycott it rather than try to use it as a forum.

This confrontation points up the importance of the mass media in this revolution, for all its archaic features.

As for Bani Sadr's strategy, it sounds naive, but it was at least an attempt to find a more appropriate means of expression than tying 50 people hand and foot for weeks on end. It lost out to a strategy that sounds more bold but is actually more passive. Khomeini's grandson, Sayed Hussein, told *Le Monde* that the ayatollah, far from worrying over the disintegrating effects of the embassy occupation on the Islamic revolution, saw it as the most popular action since the shah was overthrown—one that had put an end to internal divisions. He said the action had a huge and favorable impact on Third World and Islamic peoples, especially in countries where the destitute masses have no use for the legal niceties of the rich. By defying America, Iran becomes a spiritual beacon to the Third World, and the more radical the opposition, the better.

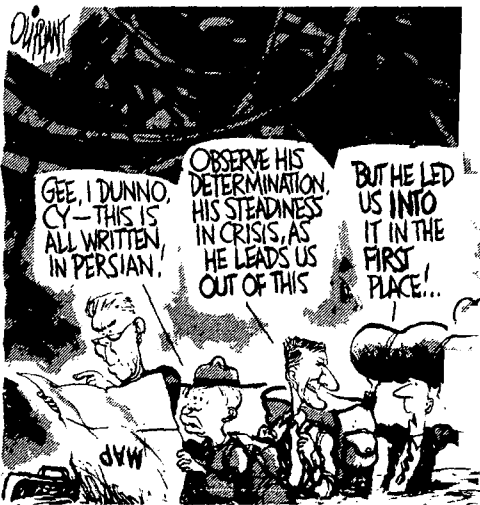
### The resignation.

After having his policy disavowed by Khomeini, Bani Sadr resigned as foreign minister, suggesting that "since Mr. Ghotbzadeh led the offensive against my policy, he take the job." He took it, even though the foreign ministry, which has undone three ministers since the revolution, has been nicknamed "the slaughterhouse."

World opinion is not as simply divided between pro-Americans and admirers of the Tehran embassy occupation as Khomeini seems to think. The editor of *Jeune Afrique*, Bechir Ben Yahmed, expressed another school of thought when he wrote that "the ayatollah Khomeini and his disciples in fact fell straight into a blatant trap cleverly set by the American adversaries of the Iranian revolution, moved by the ex-shah's famous twin sister Ashraf Pahlavi and Henry Kissinger. The shah is not dying as we were made to believe; he did not need to be 'transported' to New York for an emergency operation; they didn't 'save his life.' He could have been treated in any major world city, and first of all in Mexico City where the French doctors who have looked after him for over six years in

Tehran and American specialists could and had gone to see him. He could leave New York without danger to his health, if he or the people manipulating him had wanted to facilitate a solution to the crisis. But no, the shah was taken to New York by Ashraf and Kissinger (among others) and kept there in the framework of a political operation and as a red flag to provoke Khomeini—who charged right in."

The editor of the Paris-based weekly devoted to African affairs said that Khomeini seemed to be repeating the history of other leaders who challenged the West



## Has Rockefeller in encouraging

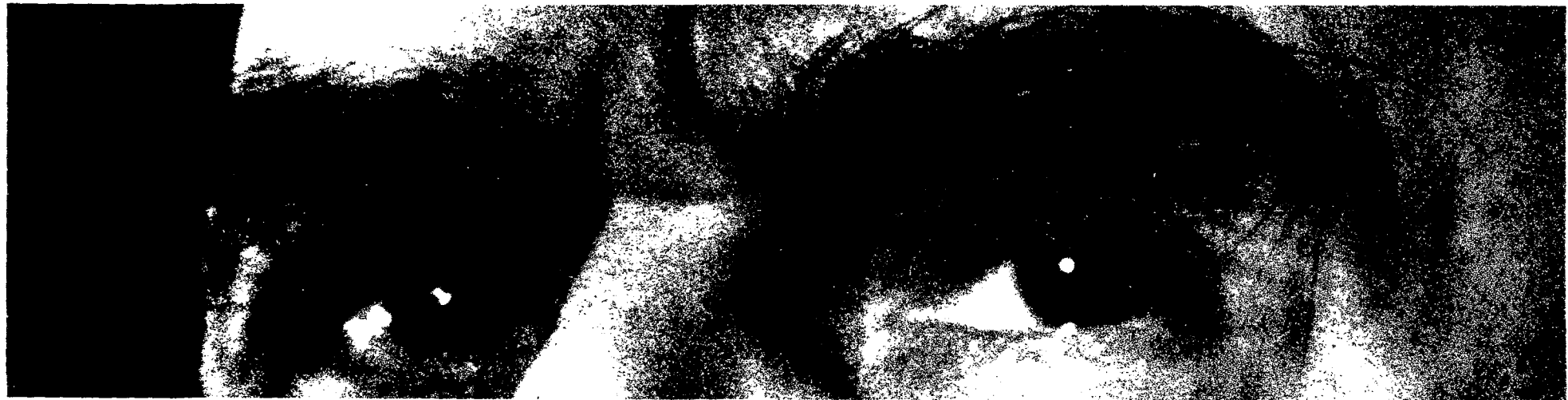
By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**D**AVID ROCKEFELLER, ASSISTED by old family friend Henry Kissinger, has emerged in the Iranian crisis as something of an American ayatollah who influences government policy from the outside. While Khomeini invokes the power of Allah, Rockefeller is mobilizing the power of the dollar for an international showdown with unforeseeable consequences.

After urging President Carter to let the shah of Iran into the U.S. despite warnings from State Department experts that this would wreck the discreet rapprochement underway between Washington and Tehran, Rockefeller in his capacity as chairman of Chase Manhattan bank then took the lead in launching a full-scale financial attack on the Iranian revolution.

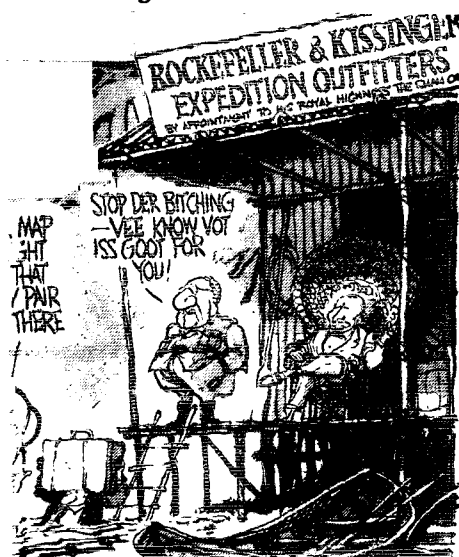
The seizure of the American embassy in Tehran by enraged Iranian students and the plight of the hostages held there gave President Carter ample political justification for his decision to freeze Iranian assets held in American banks. That measure, seemingly defensive under the circumstances, was the key to a





# Control in Iran and at Chase Manhattan

With the crowds and a few intellectuals on their side but no governments—not even in the Third World—and who lost. Meanwhile, Yahmed noted that Khomeini had brought out an astonishing flood of hatred in the West. “I would ever have believed that the most important American columnists would so readily descend to such low insults. I didn’t imagine that those men whose trade is to analyze coolly in order to understand things would turn out to be so weak and emotional...Khomeini’s irrationality is indeed contagious.”



## gone too far n to default?

S. banking offensive whose aggressiveness has deeply disturbed financial circles not only in the oil-producing Arab countries, which, like Iran, have important assets tied up in American banks, but also in Japan and Western Europe.

Chase Manhattan struck on Nov. 21, calling in a \$500 million syndicated loan contracted by Iran on grounds that the revolutionary government had defaulted on semi-annual interest payments on Nov. 15. Iranian central bank governor Ali Nobari called the default charge “shameless lie” and showed *Le Monde*’s Tehran correspondent Eric Rouleau a telex sent Nov. 5 ordering payment of \$4 million in interest on the date due. Nobari accused Chase Manhattan of concealing this order from the other banks in the syndicate.

The “default” was evidently purely technical, caused by Carter’s freeze order Nov. 14 which prevented the transfer of Iranian funds to its creditors the next day, even though the transfer had been ordered 10 days earlier. But the American bankers were not inhibited by the freeze from announcing their intention to pay themselves back the “defaulted” loans out of the frozen assets.

Tehran officials seemed indignant and

confused. Finance and economy minister Abdul Hassan Bani Sadr retaliated by announcing that Iran would not repay loans contracted by 28 Iranian banks nationalized last July, then retracted and indicated Iran would honor its debts to non-American banks. This confusion played into American hands by conveying the impression that Iran was defaulting on its debts.

Chase and other U.S. banks then moved to foreclose on other syndicated loans and at the same time to attach Iranian holdings in West German companies. Default or no default, the Iranian assets the U.S. banks were attempting to freeze exceeded the amount owed them. Thus these moves were obviously intended not simply to protect American banks from losing money owed them but rather to deprive Iran of financial means to pay for its needed imports.

### Iranian grievances.

The Iranians already had grievances against Chase Manhattan for its leading role as the shah’s banker. Chase allegedly helped the shah transfer much of his fortune out of the country and also arranged large flights of capital that left a number of private Iranian banks with only deficits on their books when they were nationalized last July.

Nobari also accused Chase Manhattan of systematically cheating Iran out of interest payments on its oil revenues. Iranian oil import payments were made directly to Chase and were passed along to the Iranian government as needed. “About six weeks ago, we discovered that Chase Manhattan had swindled Iran for years out of the interest that should have been paid for excessive delays in transferring payments. As a result, the bank eventually admitted having made some ‘mistakes in arithmetic’ and paid us a compensation well below what we sought,” Nobari recalled.

Initially, there was a curious convergence of aims between Rockefeller and Bani Sadr. Both envisage a total economic rupture—which for Rockefeller, would strangle the Iranian revolution, and for Bani Sadr, would allow it to happen.

Bani Sadr enthusiastically welcomed the U.S. embargo on Iranian oil as “an unhopd-for gift” that gave Iran the opportunity to free itself from the U.S. “economically, financially, culturally and psychologically. The total economic blockade we expect not only does not frighten us but would do us an enormous favor,” he added.

But Bani Sadr’s projects to reconvert Iranian industry and agriculture to meet the real needs of the Iranian people depend for the next several years on oil revenues. The day of the U.S. oil embargo, he cheerfully reported that Iran had immediately sold some of the oil that

would have gone to the U.S. to other buyers at record prices on the free market. He counts on being able to replace the U.S. with other trade partners in Europe and Asia. “If my economic strategy succeeds, Europe and Japan would become the main economic centers in the world,” Bani Sadr said optimistically.

This amounts, in fact, to a frontal attack against David Rockefeller’s cherished “trilateral” policy aimed at forging solidarity between the developed industrial capitalist nations in their dealings with the underdeveloped countries that sell them raw materials. Bani Sadr’s dream is Rockefeller’s nightmare: an unregulated scramble for oil that would send Iranian crude oil prices soaring and enable the country to finance a different sort of economic development.

Although trilateralism has been strained, Europe shows no sign of ambitions big enough to fit Bani Sadr’s strategy. Europeans are overwhelmingly appalled by the ayatollah and by the rise of Moslem fanaticism. But Europe and Japan are also annoyed by what they see as insatiable American gas guzzling and policy blunders that endanger Middle Eastern oil sources on which they are far more dependent than the U.S., which has large oil resources of its own.

American banks seemed highhanded in aggressively applying Carter’s freeze order in their branches abroad, where they are supposedly under jurisdiction of the host country and not the U.S. government. West German officials and bankers were dismayed by legal moves on the part of Morgan Guaranty Trust Company to attach Iran’s 25 percent shares in two major German firms, Fried Krupp and Deutsche Babcock. Finance Minister Hans Matthoefer hastened to express disapproval of Morgan’s suit, and the chairman of Dresdner Bank, the country’s second largest, Hans Friderichs, said his bank had no intention of declaring Iranian credits in default. West Germany gets 18 percent of its oil from Iran and is still hoping to salvage some of the big export deals it made with the shah’s regime.

Japanese banks also expressed readiness to keep doing business with Iran.

Western bankers’ worries went far beyond their relations with Iran. They feared that American overkill could spur chaos on world financial markets.

### No love for Khomeini.

The rulers of the oil-producing states of the Arabian peninsula have no love for Khomeini and would heartily welcome his undoing. But the U.S. freeze on Iranian assets in American banks was a disturbing lesson. As Bani Sadr pointed out, it showed all the oil producing countries that have obediently recycled their petrodollars through American banks that their ownership of their na-

tional assets is “only on paper” and that the real control remains with the Americans who are ready to act ruthlessly when they consider their national interest at stake.

The decline of the dollar has already made oil producers reluctant to keep pouring out their exhaustible resources for dollars. But despite talk of trying to shift to other currencies, American bankers may figure the oil sheikhs have nowhere else to go. There are not enough Swiss francs, German marks, Japanese yen and French francs available to replace the dollar in world trade. Central banks all have so much of their reserves in dollars that none of them can afford to wish to see the dollar collapse. The most immediate threat to the dollar in Arabia is not another currency but a completely different value system.

Faith in Allah is rising as faith in the dollar wanes. According to a number of Egyptian pilgrims returning to Cairo from Mecca, the spectacular seizure of the Great Mosque last month was essentially a political uprising aimed at overthrowing the corrupt dynasty that rules Saudi Arabia in order to establish an Islamic republic. There are reports of a growing pan-Islamic movement sweeping across the Moslem world and united Sunnites and Shi’ites in a strict fundamentalism inspired by Khomeini but even more radically hostile to Western ways than the Iranian movement.

Even if such reports are exaggerated, Arab rulers may feel compelled in the present crisis to display some independence from the U.S. Europeans fear they will pay for any such gestures.

Another fear of European bankers is that their American colleagues’ reckless declaration of Iranian default could inspire other Islamic countries, which unlike Iran do not have billions in seizable assets lying around in Western banks, to default on their own enormous debts. European banks have lent billions of their excess dollars to Third World countries whose debts continue to mount. Pakistan, where Islamic fundamentalism is in revival, is \$7 billion in debt. Bangladesh has nothing but debts. Developed countries owe something like \$400 billion. This being the case, a default movement could sweep the Third World faster than a holy war—with more disastrous results to Western economies.

In such a situation, it seems peculiarly irresponsible for such sophisticated world bankers as David Rockefeller even to suggest the hideous possibility of “default” unless they are certain of being able to punish Iran so severely as to decisively discourage other potential culprits. Are they that sure of the effectiveness of their considerable weapons in the banks war? Or are the American bankers counting on military weapons to assure their final victory?





# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## NEW OUTLOOK CONFERENCE

I DID NOT ATTEND THE *NEW OUTLOOK* conference in Washington, so I cannot dispute Norman Levine's account of the proceedings (*ITT*, Nov. 14). But as an activist in the Israeli peace movement and a former editor of *New Outlook* (1975-77), I was appalled by the misinformation reported.

The symposium organizers took upon themselves the goal, still naive today, of bringing together Israeli establishment doves from the Labor Party and Palestinians, including several of the pro-American moderates from within PLO ranks. A hostile press and pressure from their colleagues scared most of the Laborites away, despite *New Outlook's* public statements that the gathering would be held on the basis of the Camp David accords (which Palestinians categorically reject), and the "Yariv formula," which demands Palestinian recognition of Israel and cessation of military activities as a prerequisite to negotiation.

Even these statements failed to attract the Labor MPs, and at the same time angered West Bank Palestinians, who suspected an attempt to use them as an "alternative" to the PLO. The Washington locale was also suspect, since this meant that PLO leaders would not be allowed to attend. Nor were they invited.

It is still not clear whether even pro-U.S. moderate PLO diplomat Issam Sartawi was invited. *New Outlook* editors were apparently divided on the subject. At the last minute, to try to save West Bank Palestinian participation, it was announced that Sartawi had been denied a U.S. visa. But a State Department spokesman denied that a visa had been requested.

In the end, even Yossi Sarid, the one Israeli Labor MP who had agreed to attend the conference, bowed out. "What is the use of going to Washington in order not to meet with Palestinians?" he asked. "I can do that here in Israel."

The conference may still have been useful for dialogue between Israeli dissenters and American Jews worried by Israel's extremist policies, but American Jewish critics should not misrepresent the position of Israeli groups. Levine does this in many small instances and in one very destructive untruth:

*New Outlook* and the Peace Now movement's stand do not clearly favor creation of a Palestinian state and talks with the PLO, as Levine said. They are hesitant to stray from the Israeli consensus, which rejects recognition of the Palestinian right to self-determination. This does not detract from the importance of especially Peace Now in mobilizing masses against the Begin government's excesses, but it would be misleading to give it more credit than it deserves (or slander it, as some of its leaders would describe Levine's characterization).

Levine's statement that the Israel Communist Party (Rakah) was not invited because it "calls for the abolition of the state of Israel" is a repetition of a big lie. Rakah has consistently battled, in international forums and among the Israeli Arab public, against such a position. Yet its treatment by *New Outlook* was similar to the magazine's treatment of the PLO—exclusion of those who do not accept the Camp David formula.

The *New Outlook* flop does not mean that Israeli-Palestinian dialogue is impossible today. Levine mentioned another conference held a month earlier in Rome, but only partially described it. An official PLO delegation there made statements more moderate than ever before, expressing their willingness to make peace based on a West Bank-Gaza Strip state, and the Israeli delegation was broader than the one in Washington ended up being: Not only Sheli, but also Rakah and independent Israelis attended. Agreement on Zionism or Camp David was considered less important than affirmation of a mutually acceptable formula for Israeli-Palestinian peace, the central issue.

—David Mandel  
Jerusalem

## STUNNED

ROBERT HOWARD'S ARTICLE ENTITLED "Exiled dissident tries (sic) to unionize the Soviet Union" (*ITT*, Nov. 14) leaves this lifetime socialist stunned. To assert that "for the left, the [Soviet dissident] movement...has reactionary undertones," or that there is a "conservative monopoly on human rights issues as far as the Soviet Union is concerned," is appalling. The struggle for democracy, freedom and socialism within totalitarian societies of both the left and right continues to be a central theme of democratic socialist thought in America and the world. That *In These Times* can publish Howard's column under the heading "In Depth," is one of *ITT's* many failings. On the other hand, that the issue of Soviet dissidents has begun to receive some *ITT* coverage is a step in the right direction.

—Julius Bernstein  
Washington, D.C.

## BRITAIN WAS FIRST

PARIS CORRESPONDENT DIANA JOHNSTONE states that France was "the first Western country (thanks to De Gaulle) to recognize People's China (in 1964)" (*ITT*, Nov. 21).

This is not true. As far as I know, Great Britain recognized the People's Republic of China in 1949. As one of your three European correspondents, Johnstone should know that.

By the way, why is it that a newspaper so committed to Third World causes has three European correspondents and none in Latin America, the very backyard of U.S. imperialism?

—Jose Ricardo Eliaschew  
New York

## DUAL UNIONISM, SOVIET STYLE

THE HERO OF ROBERT HOWARD'S "Exiled dissident tries to unionize the Soviet Union" (*ITT*, Nov. 14) is a Russian former fitter—Fainberg, who was committed in 1968 to an asylum for five years. There he met another inmate (Borisov) and both decided to form an independent trade union in USSR. Fainberg emigrated to Israel but lives now in Paris as a "representative" of the organization "SMOT" (Free Interprofessional Association of Workers). According to Fainberg "SMOT is the only genuine trade union

in the Soviet Union" claiming to have about 200 members.

A similar story appeared in the May 1968 issue of the "Newsletter of the Democratic Left" (organ of DSOC) by its editor Jack Clark under the title "Genuine Trade Union movement in the Soviet Union?" According to that story a former miner—Klebanov, who was also committed to an asylum in 1968, organized an independent trade union under an even fancier name—"Association of the Free Trade Union of Workers in the USSR" which also claimed to have 200 members.

The new pretender to represent the Soviet workers does not even mention its forerunner. Both those phantom "trade unions" do not consist of workers in industry but are ephemeral gatherings of disgruntled individuals. This is why in Western Europe the leaders of non Communist trade unions do not take those claimants seriously.

The Trade Unions in the Soviet Union have a membership of over 100 million. Any endeavor to democratize the trade unions in the USSR has to come from the inside of the existing trade unions and not by futile organizing of separate trade unions. We are against the political repressions in the Soviet Union but this does not mean to let us be bamboozled by some adventurous kooks who are manipulated by outside forces.

—Arthur Redler  
New York, N.Y.

## BIG OIL

IN COVERING THE "BIG OIL DAY" WHY does John Judis say "It was the first large scale nationally-coordinated demonstration on the left since the anti-war days?"

Does he forget so soon the huge ERA rally of last year or the several anti-nuke demonstrations this year or even the big gay rights demonstration covered in the same issue? Let's not deny the growing popular energy in this multifaceted movement.

—Charles Knight  
Cambridge, Mass.

### John Judis replies:

I was referring to the fact—mentioned in the same paragraph—that the demonstrations were truly nationwide—103 cities—while the demonstrations Knight cites were not.

## SUPERB

VIRGINIA DURR'S REVIEW OF *Mean Things Happening In This Land*, by H.L. Mitchell, was superb. She manages to tell the reader what this book is about while weaving in her own first-hand knowledge of that particular slice of history, as a participant in those desperate and valiantly fought battles to organize sharecroppers. It made me rush out to order a copy of the book.

—Jessica Mifford  
Oakland, Calif.

## A SOCIALIST? IN CAMBRIDGE?

"CAMBRIDGE PICKS SOCIALIST councilor" read the *ITT* headline in the last issue. Imagine my surprise as a Cambridge voter when I discovered the man I had voted for in the last election was Cambridge's first socialist city councilmember.

Nowhere in David Sullivan's campaign literature that I or my neighbors saw was it revealed that he was a DSOC member. His credentials seemed to be those of a good liberal democrat, strong on tenant and community issues. If I and other Cambridge voters had only known the historical role we were play-

ing in voting for a socialist!

If Sullivan chose for political reasons to keep his socialism in the closet, so be it. But *ITT* should not mislead its readers by suggesting that the Cambridge population knowingly voted for a DSOC member. It doesn't suggest a very viable strategy for building socialism or a socialist consciousness in this country if we vote for people who do not identify their politics. Who knows who else is lurking in the DSOC closet? Maybe we already have socialism and someone just forgot to tell us?

—Susan Reverby  
Cambridge, Mass.

### Editors' note:

We agree and regret the error.

## MISLEADING?

JOHN JUDIS' PIECE ON CLEVELAND busing (*ITT*, Nov. 21) needs some response because I believe it is misleading.

First, busing was never a major issue in the recent Cleveland mayoral election. The fact that Mayor Kucinich tried to make it an issue became an important factor for the progressive elements he sought to represent and lead.

His use of racist tracts in campaigning differed sharply with his stated intentions as reflected by the statement after the Muny Light vote: "We've united blacks and ethnics on economic issues. No one else has been able to do that" (*ITT*, March 7). His inability to reconcile the use of racist material and desire to unite black and white cannot be explained away by his opposition to busing.

Second, CORK, the anti-busing group, didn't have major impact in the election, as evidenced by CORK's inability to elect any one of its four candidates to four open spots on the school board where busing is a major issue.

Third, Herbert Dennerll is not simply a "former city official" and a church leader, as the article favorable to CORK implies, but a knock-about politician who hasn't held public office in some 15 years, not for the lack of running. Further, Dennerll not only doesn't live in the city of Cleveland he doesn't even live in the same county.

Finally, not to recognize Kucinich's severe losses in the white community despite appeals to race on a volatile issue as busing, leads to the failure to understand that he lost because the rhetoric "for the people," so popular out of Cleveland, too often clashed with the administration's actions "against the people," at home.

—Roldo Bartimole  
Cleveland

## CLEARING UP

YOU PRINTED MY LETTER ENTITLED *Blacks and Jews* Nov. 7. I would like to clear up some ambiguities resulting from its condensation, and perhaps the editor's misunderstanding of my intent.

In discussing Jewish economic power in America I did not write that 800,000 Jews live at or below the poverty line "and must work for a living." Rather, the quoted phrase was "many are working class." This was to emphasize that while even middle-class Jews do not control most major sources of power—large corporations and government—there are many thousands of Jews who are not even middle-class!

My discussion of anti-Semitism as a tool of the power elite in past ages was an explanation that it is currently to the advantage of big business and government (and the media they control) to encourage blacks to direct their anger against Jews (and vice-versa), rather than the real sources of their oppression.

My statement that Jews are racists and blacks are anti-Semitic was originally elaborated by saying that we all carry around prejudices. Jews are not racists because they are Jews, and blacks are not anti-Semitic because they are blacks.

Continued on next page.



## LETTERS

Continued from previous page.

My concluding paragraph was meant to convey disappointment in the Left for aiding divisions between blacks and Jews. In dealing with the current rift I have only encountered from the Left statements geared toward widening the chasm. Criticisms of Jews have been made with no overall analysis of the situation—of how black and Jewish oppression are played off against one another.

In criticizing the Left, I was not criticizing Mark Naison. My difference with Naison was that he implied in his article that it was hopeless to unite people across ethnic divisions, while "I continue to try."

—**Oranah Swift**  
Berkeley, Calif.

## CUBA, SEE?

IN 1974 RONALD RADOSH TOOK A TWO week tour of Cuba and, presto, converted himself into a Cuba expert. He wrote an article and then edited a book about Cuba. Now Radosh—who is also an expert on Eurocommunism, U.S. labor, Jamaican politics and the Rosenberg case—has become an expert on the non-aligned nations and their politics. In his "Dialog" column (*ITT*, Nov. 21) he accuses Cuban President Fidel Castro of following the Arab line on Zionism, as well as the Moscow line on everything. For his supposed expertise, Radosh rails on scholars who have consistently attacked Cuba, though often under the cover of "objective" social science. In ignoring their political perspective, he only exposes the shallowness of his own argument.

Radosh harks back to the good old days of the 1950s, when Cuba was not a Soviet satellite. But in 1973, according to Radosh, Cuba became a puppet. He does not explain why or how Cuba's line preceded the Soviets' on Angola. The Soviets waited until Cuba had shown its military success before sending large scale military supplies. Cuba maintains relations with revolutionary groups throughout Latin America whom the Soviets vilify, and sends technicians, doctors, and teachers to many nations for whom the Soviets have little but disdain.

What Radosh overlooks most basically in his uninformed attack is that on Israel, Fidel Castro was representing the non-aligned movement's position to the U.N. General Assembly. Radosh may believe that the 95 member movement is a puppet of the Soviets or of the Arab League, but he would need to demonstrate that.

At the non-aligned summit there was a consensus on Israel as on no other issue. Based on principles of non-aggression, and on horror over Israeli atrocities in Lebanon, the non-aligned movement condemned both Israel and the Camp David accords, which they saw as giving license to Israeli actions.

The new international economic order, Cuba's leadership of the non-aligned movement towards such an order, and the enormous difference between the dependence most Third World countries suffer as colonies of western neo-imperialism and the dependence Cuba has on the Soviet Union, are matters that deserve full discussion in the pages of *ITT*. Sadly, after reading Radosh's dialog piece, we feel it necessary to advise that the discussion also be knowledgeable and honest.

—**Philip Brenner**  
—**Saul Landau**  
Washington, D.C.

## YANKEE KNOW?

ANYONE WHO MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN in by Ronald Radosh's hatchet job on the Rosenbergs would do well to study his commentary on Cuba and

Zionism (*ITT*, Nov. 21) in which he accuses Castro of "echoing" Moscow's line on Zionism in the course of the Cuban president's address to the UN. Did Radosh listen to that speech, watch it on television or read some account of it? Being of a charitable frame of mind, we might say no, since the section of Castro's speech dealing with the Palestinian question and Zionism drew the loudest and most sustained ovation of the entire address. Castro wasn't "echoing" Moscow's line; he was advancing the views of the overwhelming majority of members of the non-aligned movement.

Now it is obvious that Radosh is unhappy with those views. But why hide behind that hoary cliché of anticommunism—mouthpiece for Moscow—to say so? If every government that "echoes" the denunciation of Zionism's treatment of the Palestinian people put forward by Castro at the UN is to be seen as stooging for the Soviet Union, then we would have to conclude that Brezhnev has achieved for the USSR a measure of that much-touted hegemonism that could not even be dreamed of by his predecessors.

I suspect the real reason for Radosh's unhappiness with Castro's speech is that the Cuban president made a particular point of citing Nazi persecution of the Jews in order to underscore the distinction that must be made between opposition to Zionism and anti-semitism. Radosh was thus deprived of the opportunity to "echo"—if you don't mind the borrowing of a term—the official propaganda of Zionism in this regard.

It has been demonstrated many times over that social chauvinism is the ideological counterpoint to social democracy. In this epoch, when once-colonized peoples are striving to complete their national liberation, the affinity of anti-communism for racism and national chauvinism emerges in new forms—not just in South Africa's attempt to defend racism in the name of anti-communism, but even more insidiously when such a stand is "echoed" by those who have staked out a claim (no matter how dubious) on the left.

—**Irwin Silber**  
Brooklyn, NY

## OFFENDED

OUR REMINIST COLLECTIVE IS OFFENDED and disappointed to see the title of "Working Man's Artist" (*ITT*, Oct. 31). In a paper as excellent as *ITT* we expect to see the invisibility of women in this society actively challenged. We would like to see a printed apology and a policy that includes women in all aspects of the paper.

—**The women of Iris House**  
Berkeley, Calif.

## TIRED OF WIMIN WHO ARE TIRED OF ABORTION ISSUE

REGARDING CELESTINE WATSON'S request that there be less coverage of abortion and more on "legit socio-economic issues" (*ITT*, Nov. 10), she would do well to reflect on who is determining what the "real" issues are. Because it affects mainly wimin, abortion is trivialized, emotionalized, and made unimportant in the world of male-controlled business and politics.

This is an illusion that leaves all wimin powerless. Freedom of one's own body, time, and labor are all, not only for the heterosexual wimin, directly dependent on the availability and cheapness of abortion. The powerlessness of wimin in the labor market, as in all aspects of social existence, is a mere reflection of our powerlessness in the arena of sexual politics. Watson's minimizing of the importance of abortion is just playing into the hands of white ruling class men.

—**Nancy Powell**  
Burlington, VT

## JACK CLARK

## The hostages in Iran are paying for big oil's sins

I SUSPECT THAT MY REACTION to the kidnapping of American diplomats in Tehran is like the reaction of most of my fellow citizens. I'm angry about the students' taking of the embassy, even angrier about the use Khomeini and company have put the whole



incident to, and I'm worried about world peace being maintained in the face of all this. Yet as we watch the television news coverage or read about the incidents in Iran in the daily press, there's a strange, ahistorical face put on the whole affair. The current regime in Iran does indeed seem to be marked by a fanatic religious fervor. But does the intensity of Sh'ite Islam really explain this grave and international incident?

Even when the news media give a little depth to their coverage and explain that the Shah really was responsible for massive torture and that people in Iran are still angry, there's a dimension missing in the coverage. Why, after all, is the U.S. so hated by the Iranian crowds that gather almost daily outside our embassies?

Sure, our government backed the shah, sold him his weapons, trained his army and gave him massive aid. Then, apparently under the prodding of Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller, the U.S. State Department agreed to let him enter the country for medical treatment. After years of ignoring his many victims, the shah was the recipient of our kind attentions. The outrage becomes a bit easier to fathom.

But what our media ignores, the Iranians will never forget: the shah would have been in exile twenty-five years longer except that the U.S. intervened to place him back on the Peacock Throne. What we must not forget is that "our" 1953 intervention in Iran served no legitimate national purpose for the U.S. or for most of its citizens. In fact, as we can see all too painfully now, the CIA participation and leadership in the coup that placed the shah back in power ran directly counter to our interests.

That August 1953 coup changed not only Iranian history but also the economic history of the whole world. Prior to the shah's re-accession to power, Iranian oil was owned by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. A secular, democratic government headed by Premier Mohammed Mossadegh moved to nationalize the British company in 1951. As Robert Engler pointed out in *The Politics of Oil*, nationalization on a large scale had already been experienced in Britain by 1951. But nationalization in Iran was, the British insisted, unacceptable.

So, a response came quickly, not from the British government or from the American government, but from the multinational energy companies. They organized a boycott of Iranian oil. Mossadegh had oil, but no place to sell it. While the oil majors were engaged in this cartel arrangement against Iran, the U.S. government was clearing away potential obstacles by granting the companies immunity from anti-trust prosecution. And the oil companies received full U.S. diplomatic backing as our government sought to "mediate" the dispute.

Like the government of Salvador Allende in Chile twenty years later, Mossadegh's government found the economic pressure crushing. Like Chile, Iran, before Mossadegh's government came to power, had been a major recipient of American aid. But as Mossadegh faced the squeeze of the boycott and found

Iran's budget short, his request for additional aid was met by a lecture from President Eisenhower. He was told that it was unfair to ask the American taxpayer to subsidize Iran when Mossadegh could sell the oil simply by being reasonable.

With troops armed by the Pentagon and popular demonstrations organized by the CIA, Mossadegh's government was toppled in August 1953. The shah's restoration did not mean a return to the status quo ante. Anglo-Iranian got a 40 percent share of the Iranian oil, but a new consortium involving all the Seven Sisters of international oil was formed in 1954. Standard of New Jersey (now Exxon) took the lead in the consortium, and once again the U.S. government guaranteed that anti-trust laws would be waived.

The shah advanced the interests of the U.S.-based oil companies. British monopoly of the rich Iranian fields passed on to a more sophisticated, American-led international government of oil under his regime. But in the 1950s as in the 1970s, those oil company interests were far from identical and were often antithetical to the needs and interests of American citizens.

Even now in Teheran, our country is paying for Big Oil's sins.

Jack Clark is a former national secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and a current member of its National Executive Committee.

80 years of political art  
in the U.S.

1980 PEACE CALENDAR

... a unique view of the graphics of progressive posters, broadsides and journals which have graced the sidewalks and living-rooms of the century, rather than its museums and fine galleries.

128 wire-bound pages. 25th year.

\$4. each, four for \$15.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

Please send \_\_\_\_\_ copies to me:

My name \_\_\_\_\_

My address \_\_\_\_\_



# Healey

Continued from page 16.

feelings were there? Was there internal debate? How much? I think of Angela Davis, so committed to play herself down as a person, she can reveal nothing of herself."

Dorothy nodded, once again with an expression of almost little girl semi-comic rue. "I know what you're saying. Well, Communists were also people, of course. There was internal debate. What there was of it can mostly be found in pre-convention discussions, not much else is recorded. I must say that you won't find too much of it, or the human dimension, in this collection."

"I myself just recently, being interviewed by oral historians, found it difficult to be personal. The fact that I was having a son at that period was not important, but what was going on in the country."

The prof let it go at that. If he wanted to be a little tougher, he could have asked her whether the party's appearance of dour muffling of personhood was not another in the long list of calamitous mechanical imports from Moscow. And, perhaps, whether the flowering of glorious individual diversity, with richly open human relations, shouldn't be always uppermost for those arguing the superiority of true socialism to a system that enshrines profits above people.

The history professor opened the door to Healey's current posture when he asked, "Did you ever feel suddenly that there was nobody out there listening? There's the assumption of a great proletariat, but is it there?"

"Oh, I think so," was Dorothy's immediate response. "Just look at today's news. Fighting inflation by creating more inflation, super oil profits and rising

gasoline prices, pollution, overcrowded schools in the central area. This is a degraded, debased system."

"That doesn't mean—and I had to find this out the hard way—that people are going to look at this totality and see it. That's why organized bodies are important, they do what individuals don't." Then she said the words that appeared in the next day's *Independent/Press-Telegram* bracketed in larger type above the body of the story of the meeting:

"I'm no longer in the Communist Party but I consider myself a communist and a revolutionary. The things that motivated me originally at 14 haven't changed. Once you understand this system, whether there is a popular movement against it out there or not, you have to continue to oppose it."

She suggested that while there is no way of perceiving it, there are potential leaders "out there."

"You know," she said, "I watched people you would justifiably call backwards, not articulate, even social illiterates, become leaders. I mean real leaders, in real struggles."

"It was a stirring point, and it clearly stirred many of these students, circa 1979, a year in which STOP signals that a decade ago were amended to "STOP the war" are now apt to read "STOP disco."

To a puzzled questioner who wanted to know why the left seemed to attack other parts of the left so viciously and often, she replied with a sign of retroactive wisdom, "The vanguard role. If you are destined to lead, then someone poaching on your territory becomes the worst danger."

The history prof said, "We need the freest kind of debate on this campus. Get involved in the debate over alternatives. If we have to choose between the Federal Reserve Board and the Politburo there'll be little need for higher education."

During the question period one young

woman cried out, "Why should we listen to you? Why don't you go over there?"

At which Healey's impeccable professional manner evaporated, and with a spark of the old Red Queen flint she leaned sharply forward and said in clipped words, "Because I was born here and this is my country and I happen to believe we owe it to our country to make it what it ought to be."

There wasn't much mea culpa in Dorothy Healey this day. Despite unhesitating acknowledgement of horrendous miscalculations, arrogances, rigidities and worse, at no time did Dorothy Healey give the faintest notion that she regretted her years in the Communist Party, U.S.A. After all, she had just been immersed in a collection of material that is eloquent testimony that members of the Communist party would get a higher grade from history than their contemporaries who devoted all their time and talents solely

to bettering themselves.

The second-day editorial in the *Independent/Press-Telegram* ended this way:

"The books, flyers and other documents the library now has may not yield up any Communist Party secrets, but they should provide a fascinating view of revolutionary struggle in America. And some students, who learn from them some of the history of the Old Left, may escape the blandishments of the New Left, which often fails to understand current capitalism or communism because it does not study history. The Healey collection will remain as evidence, too, that ideas, books and speakers are not to be feared in a university, and that, as Harvard law professor Zechariah Chafee once said, 'Freedom of speech belongs to a people which is free from fear.'"

Lester Rodney is the former sports editor of *The Daily Worker*.

## A major left library

By Richard B. Marks

The Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research in Los Angeles is located in a vast, predominantly black area of L.A. in the center of the even vaster flats of the city—what Reyner Banham calls the Plains of Id. Here the dusty date palms evoke the poverty of Cairo rather than the grand drives of Beverly Hills or the decayed elegance of the once-genteel West Adams district. The library specializes in radical, progressive, labor, and minorities literature.

The building looks as though it were once an appliance warehouse outlet store. Inside it is reminiscent of the rooms full of files in Orson Welles' *The Trial*: big wooden filing cabinets packed with pamphlets, clippings, and papers. Packing boxes are filled beyond the edge with manila envelopes that in turn are filled with more pamphlets, clippings, and photos. Then there are the stacks with the catalogued books and also the shelves laden with new acquisitions and duplicates. This building is almost breaking at the seams with radical and socialist books, newspapers, pamphlets, flyers, pictures, clippings, magazines, tapes and films. One of the best research collections on right-wing extremism was given to this library.

The energetic director, Emil Freed, has been assembling this collection for over 50 years. Tassia Freed, his wife, has kept a clipping file in some 800 categories to a total of about 150,000 items from 1914 on. Freed found some of the most interesting material in private collections in small towns around the country.

Because of the large amount of cataloging that still has to be done by the very small staff of four regulars and li-

brary interns from the University of Southern California (USC), researchers are referred to this collection only when it is clear that no other library can provide the relevant resources. Sixty university libraries nationwide are now serviced by this collection through the loan, exchange, or sale of surplus books and pamphlets, and the duplication of rare documents, tape recordings, and films. The library has ties with USC and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), but Freed has resisted incorporation into either of these. Were it to become part of one of the larger libraries, the collection would be dispersed into the pre-existing departments and lose its distinct character.

The 15,000 books are impressive. The shelves filled with the classics of Marxism are impressive. But it is the assembled ephemera—the leaflets, the pamphlets, the posters, the pictures, and the oral history tapes—that are irreplaceable. Much documentation of the struggles of the '60s is preserved there.

The tapes include political party conventions; dialogue and debate on the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa; the Watergate hearings; the complete Reuben Salazar inquest; unusual material on the Rosenberg-Sobell cases; and a great deal about the wars in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. The pamphlet section has some rare items from before the turn of the century. The most significant material in the film section comes from the '30s, with rare footage on the Great Depression and labor demonstrations.

The library, a non-profit educational institute, is located at 6120 S. Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90044. 213-759-6063. It is open daily from 1-4 PM. Richard Marks is a writer and historian who lives in Hollywood.

reach the Arbitration Review Board, the 'Supreme Court' of the industry arbitration system, have come from Consol mines.

Consol's record is the antithesis of the new consensus. Local managers do not have the authority to settle disputes; local working conditions are systematically rationalized to enhance corporate authority and control. And when discussing Consol's campaign, most unionists jettison the language of co-operation for that of conflict. "It's divide and conquer," says District 5 president Lou Antal from Pittsburgh. "They want to splinter us and try to get us apart."

Consolidation Coal, the largest and most powerful American coal company, is attempting a radical restructuring of social control within the unionized sector of the coal industry. This restructuring is a process familiar throughout American industry. The corporations that dominate economic life break down the traditional identification of workers with their unions so as to replace it with identification with the corporation. 'Company versus union' becomes 'labor and management.' How this is happening in coal, and what the union can do about it, will be explored next week.

This article was written with the assistance of the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

## to give is to receive

By giving IPS books as holiday gifts, you accomplish a number of things. You support the work of the Institute, educate family and friends and receive John Berger's extraordinary book, *Ways of Seeing*, as a special thank you when your total purchase is \$12.00 or more.



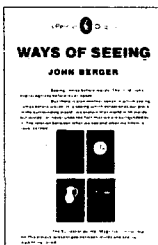
**COMMON SENSE FOR HARD TIMES**  
Jeremy Brecher and Tom Costello, \$5.00.  
"The best manual for our 'hard times'..."  
*Saturday Review*

**THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION**  
Marcus Raskin, Editor, \$8.95.  
"A first-rate critique of the present economic crisis."

James Abourezk

**THE GIANTS: Russia and America**  
Richard Barnett, \$3.95.  
"A thoughtful and balanced account of American-Soviet relations."

Cyril E. Black,  
Princeton University



**GLOBAL REACH: The Power of the Multinational Corporations**  
Richard Barnett and Ronald Muller, \$6.95.

"A searching, provocative inquiry into global corporations."  
*Publisher's Weekly*

**PIG EARTH**  
John Berger, \$12.50.  
An eloquent statement about the demise of the peasant society.

**THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF RACE AND CLASS IN SOUTH AFRICA**  
Bernard Magubane, \$18.50.  
Important and timely work on South Africa

I wish to support the work of the Institute for Policy Studies by ordering the following holiday gifts:

☐ YES, my order exceeds \$12.00. Please send me a FREE copy of *Ways of Seeing*. Please add 15% for postage and handling within the United States; 20% for orders outside the United States.

Mail to:

**Institute for Policy Studies**

1901 Que Street, N.W.,  
Dept AA, Washington, D.C. 20009

☐ Payment Enclosed  
☐ Please charge to my:  
☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge  
☐ American Express

Account Number

Bank Number

Expiration Date

Signature required for charge

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

A-029



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## TELEVISION

## Sugar-coated children's programming

By Beth Bogart

A group started by three concerned Massachusetts mothers has been saying it for years: children's TV is "mindless." A federal investigation recently said it officially: the TV industry's noncompliance with children's programming guidelines is "shocking." And a reporter who tuned in several hours of "kidvid" one Saturday morning reeled away from the TV set in mindless shock.

After sitting through the Fred Flintstone Show, the Mighty Man and Yuk Show, the Super Globetrotters Show, the Plasticman Show and the ever-popular Bugs Bunny and Roadrunner Show, this reporter felt an overpowering desire to head to the nearest grocery store for cereals

named Honeycomb, Cap'n Crunch, Sugar Crisp and Sugar Corn Pops.

Bubble-gum, candy bars and instant-burger restaurants filled out the food roster in Saturday morning's advertising. Toys touted on the TV included "Mork and Mindy" dolls, "Kissing Barbie" dolls (all outfits sold separately), a toy blender for "little Moms," Lone Ranger with heightho Silver and his "eight-way action saddle" (all items sold separately, of course), Star Wars offshoots and games as unoriginal as the cartoon shows.

Two government agencies have the authority to get junk-programs and junk-food off the kidvid airwaves, but neither has been able to do much.

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) set voluntary programming and advertising guidelines for kidvid in 1974,



The old Howdy Doody show, from the left, Clarabell, Howdy, Princess Summer Fall Winter Spring and Buffalo Bob.

but a year-long investigation by an FCC task force revealed October 30 that the TV industry has failed to meet the government mandate.

The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) in February 1978 voted unanimously to investigate TV advertising, especially for heavily-sugared foods, directed at children. The FTC said it would consider banning all television advertising directed to children under eight, banning advertising to children between eight and 12 of heavily-sugared goods most likely to promote cavities, and requiring corrective advertising to balance commercials for other sugared foods.

The FTC inquiry is currently under attack in Congress and in the courts. Advertisers and broadcasters, fearing that restrictions on children's advertising will threaten their profits, have "been single-minded in their determination to sabotage the investigation ever since it was announced," according to Action for Children's Television (ACT), formed in 1968 by Boston-area mothers.

Advertisers and broadcasters have succeeded in getting FTC Chairman Michael Pertschuk, a vocal advocate of kidvid reform, disqualified from the agency's rulemaking on children's television. They have reportedly raised a \$15 million to \$30 million "war chest" to fight the proceeding.

And they have pressured congressional representatives to threaten drastic cutbacks in funding for the FTC to continue its investigation. For example, the Senate Commerce Committee Nov. 20 adopted amendments to the FTC's authorization act that would kill the kidvid advertising rulemaking.

#### Defenseless.

Leading the battle to prevent Uncle Sam's "interference" in kiddie advertising on TV are the sugar industry, cereal manufacturers, toy makers and the chocolate industry, joined by the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the National Association of Broadcasters.

Commercials aimed at children bring in nearly \$600 million for TV networks—almost \$100 million from Saturday alone—and help sell billions of dollars worth of products. One study shows "parents yield to their children's requests for a specific product 87 percent of the time."

Children "are defenseless against the onslaught of advertising featuring animation, music and sophisticated film techniques," said Saul Robinson,

president of the 15,000-member American Academy of Pediatrics recently. The Academy believes children need special protection from TV ads because "they do not have the capacity to understand or evaluate the intent of commercials directed at what advertisers call the '2-11 market,'" he said.

#### Programming.

The FCC's inquiry focused primarily on programming instead of advertising, and so has drawn less attention from Congress, the TV industry and the public.

The FCC staff's conclusions, released recently, said the TV industry basically has complied with the advertising guidelines established in 1974. Commercial time on children's shows have been cut from 16 minutes an hour to 9.5 minutes. Hosts of children's shows no longer endorse products, and programs are more distinctly separated from ads, an FCC staff member said. The National Association of Broadcasters advertising code now "is compatible" with the government's guidelines, she said.

The industry, however, has not developed its own programming rules "compatible" with the government's standards, the FCC staff's report said. The staff recommended that broadcasters should be required to air

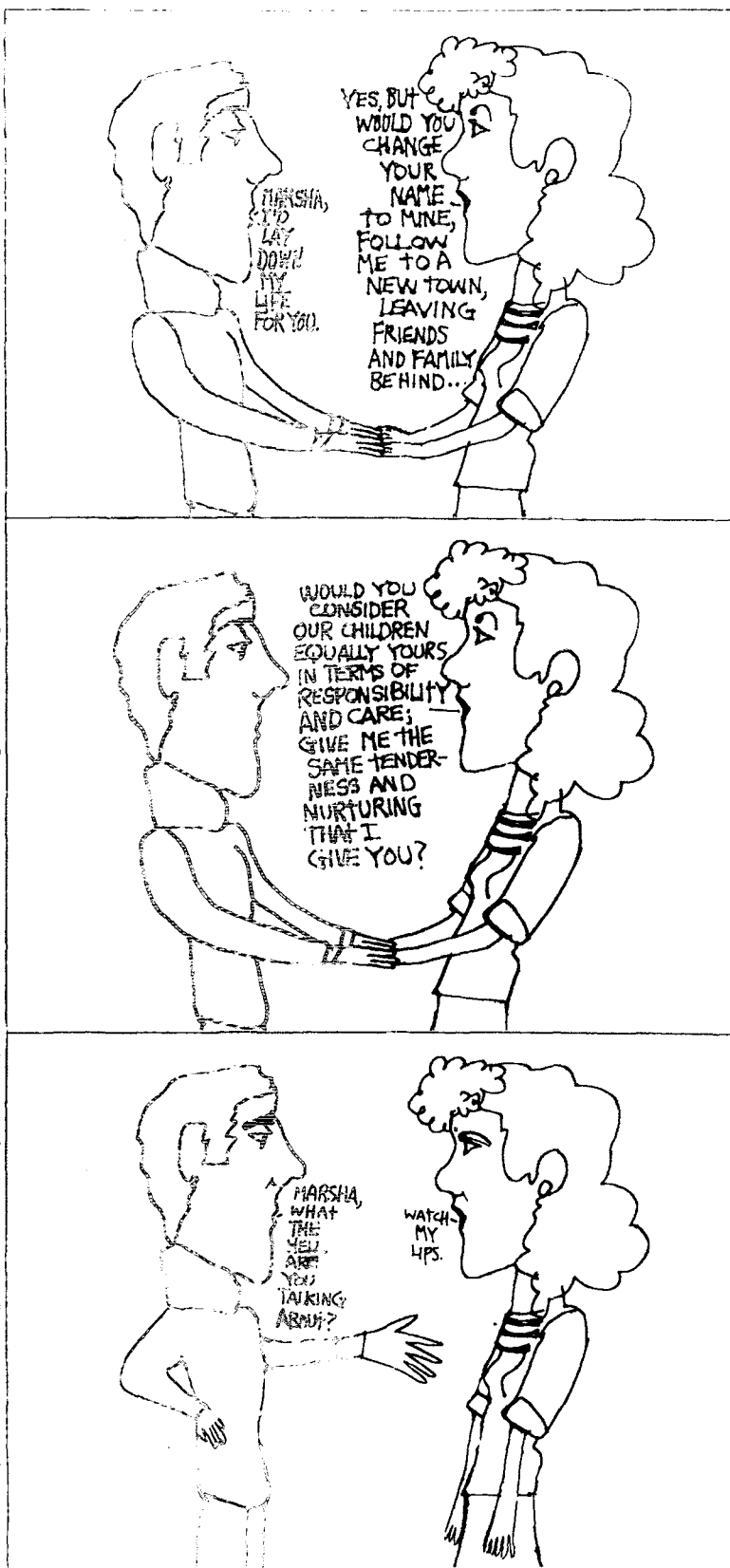
five hours of educational programs aimed at preschoolers, and 2.5 hours aimed at school-age children, each week. Only CBS, with its daily Captain Kangaroo program, would currently meet the pre-school requirement.

CBS also offers "In the News" spots, giving a brief report on news events that would interest children. These news briefs are usually entertaining and informative, but are shorter than many commercials, and much less frequently aired. "In the News" is aired a total of 24 minutes weekly. Children see an average of more than five hours of advertising each week. NBC has a similar "Time Out" spot, also brief and shown even less frequently than CBS' version, and a glimpse of NBC's adult-news anchorman, John Chancellor in "Ask NBC News."

Other than those rare and short news spots, Saturday morning TV is a wasteland of poor-quality cartoons. "Saturday morning is the most depressing part of the whole broadcast scheme," said ACT President Peggy Charren. "The 2-to-11 age span is the most diverse period in human development, and that's why diversity is so important."

Beth Bogart is a Washington journalist who now works as editor and writer for the Council of Energy Resource Tribes in Washington D.C.

NICOLE HOLLANDER



"IN THESE TIMES is a most welcome addition to the small but influential list of non-establishment publications that break through the fog of double-talk and nonsense."



Carey McWilliams  
Former editor of  
The Nation

#### First Issue Free!

- ☐ Send me 6 months of In These Times for only \$9.95.  
☐ Send me one year of In These Times for only \$19.00.  
☐ Bill me later.

☐ Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge

Account number \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City and State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

In These Times, 5615 W. Cermak Rd., Cicero, IL 60650



## SPORTS

# New York sports activists launch new city programs

By Mark Naison

In the last 10 years popular sports in New York City have been transformed. In Manhattan and the wealthier parts of outlying boroughs, tens of thousands of people have taken up jogging, yoga or tennis. Sports centers, health clubs and stores have arisen. In Central and Prospect Parks road races take place almost every summer weekend, and accounts of athletic exploits and injuries have become staples of conversation for the city's middle class. Women, once confined to the bleachers, feature prominently in this sports "explosion."

In the city's poorer neighborhoods, where team sports set the tone, the atmosphere has been different. Parks and playgrounds have been closed by layoffs of city workers, especially in minority communities where voter turnout is low. The athletic budget of public schools has been sharply cut, forcing cutbacks in sports programs that once were the pride of city neighborhoods and preventing women's sports teams from expanding with student interest. After-school centers have been closed, pushing teens and preteens back into the street. And senior citizens, terrified by rising crime, have be-



A Sports for the People exercise class for seniors.

come prisoners in their homes, unable to use the parks for walking, chess or bike riding.

These problems have received little attention from activists until recently. With schools, hospitals and basic services all suffering major cutbacks, popular

recreation seemed a problem of secondary importance.

But in the last few years a group called Sports for the People, uniting labor unions, senior citizens' groups and black and Hispanic organizations, has helped create a pro-public sports

climate in city politics.

Founded in 1974, Sports for the People began as a discussion group for a handful of leftist athletes and sports journalists who live on Manhattan's West Side. In 1975 the group participated in its first protest action, a demonstration at Yankee Stadium to protest the diversion of South Bronx development funds into the rehabilitation of Yankee Stadium—a project that cost five times the projected estimate.

Sports for the People developed a close relationship with several South Bronx activists whose constituents were desperate for increased recreation space and facilities. This contact, with the large turnout for the demonstration, convinced Sports for the People organizers that they should focus their attention on issues such as park and recreation space, accessibility of school gyms, and funding for school sports programs.

New members, many of them black and Hispanic, joined Sports for the People. Citywide recreation groups—Ys, community centers, neighborhood groups—endorsed its activities. A South Bronx city councilman, Gilberto Gerena Valentin, offered it free office space and help with grants.

By 1979 Sports for the People began to have an impact on city policies. In the spring it organized a city hall demonstration by high school students to protest an effort to close recreation centers in the city's schools. The demonstration, which netted TV and newspaper coverage, forced the city to rescind the action.

More recently the group helped organize a protest by high

school athletes in support of coaches who struck because of a pay cut. Though they didn't win city funds, the action spurred a private fundraising campaign that restored salaries to their previous level.

Sports for the People has also advocated sports rights for senior citizens. In 1978 several physical educators in the group held a Senior Citizens Olympics in the Bronx. A year later they got a \$60,000 grant to develop the program throughout the city. Beginning with two months of classes on exercise and diet, held in senior citizen centers, the group held a day-long sports festival that drew 2,500 seniors for a program of volleyball, track and field, tennis and chess.

Sports for the People is now rehabilitating an eight-story building in the South Bronx. It will eventually serve as a senior citizens' center and headquarters for Sports for the People offices. In cooperation with the National Council of Black Lawyers, Sports for the People is seeking funding for an Athletes Advocacy Center to give high school and college athletes legal help with scholarship abuses, improper treatment for injuries and exploitation by player agents. Finally, it is pushing a city council resolution for the City of New York to purchase the Mets (they are up for sale) and to use the team's profits to subsidize popular recreation.

Mark Naison, sports coordinator for *In These Times*, is a member of Sports for the People.

Sports for the People can be contacted at 391 E. 149th St., #216, Bronx, NY 10455.

## CLASSIFIED

### PUBLICATIONS

A GUIDE TO COOPERATIVE ALTERNATIVES, a resource directory published by *Communities Magazine*, \$6.80 post-paid from our bookshop. For our free list of periodicals by mail send us your name, address and a 15¢ stamp. A Periodical Retreat, 336 1/2 S. State, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

ERNIE KOVACS, EDWARD BEL-LAMY, FLYING SAUCERS, Isadora Duncan, B. Kliban, Shaker Paintings, Horror Movies, Walt Kelley, Women's Erotic Films, HP Lovecraft, O. Henry, The Blues, Mel Blanc, Old-Time Radio Drama, The Three Stooges, Lord Buckley, Bugs Bunny, only some of the subjects in the special Surrealist Number of *CULTURAL CORRESPONDENCE*. 120pp., many pictures, documents include Breton, Cesaire, Artaud, Single copy, \$3. Subscription, \$7.50 (four numbers). c/o Dorwar Bookstore, 224 Thayer St., Providence, RI 02906.

DECEMBER, JEWISH CURRENTS, "Stalinism and the Jewish Question," by Louis Harap. "Political Tremors in Israel," an editorial. "Holocaust and Resistance," by Morris U. Schappes, "Hanuka and Christmas," by Max Rosenfeld, Single copy \$1.00. Subscription \$10.00 yearly U.S.A. Write: Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 E. 17th St., NYC 10003. New pamphlet by Dr. Albert Prago, "Jews in the International Brigades in Spain," send 75¢. Special—A Ten Year Harvest, Third

Jewish Currents Reader: 1966-76, 300pp. paperback \$3.75.

A MESSAGE FROM ARTIST RALPH FASANELLA, "For a real understanding of the meaning of my art, and of the message my art has for the American Left, I urge you to read Joe Holland's pamphlet, FLAG, FAITH & FAMILY—ROOTING THE AMERICAN LEFT IN EVERYDAY SYMBOLS. I consider it one of the most important political documents of this decade." Available for \$1 plus 28¢ postage from: New Patriot Alliance, Room 305 343 S. Dearborn Chicago, IL 60604

ITALY AND US: a progressive newsletter on Italy, Italian-Americans. 1 yr.: \$6. For sample, write: Comm. for a Democratic Policy Towards Italy, Box 32351. Calvert Station, Wash., D.C. 20007.

KUCINICH: GOOD/BAD—Two years (48 issues) chronological coverage, \$25. Reg. subscription: \$10. Sample: \$1.00. Roldo Bartimole's Point of View, 3344 Meadowbrook, Cleveland, OH 44118

### FOR SALE

PEOPLE'S ENERGY 1980—The No-Nukes/Sane Energy Wall Calendar is a 22 color extravaganza of culture, politics, education and inspiration. A holiday fundraising tool for antinuclear groups. Inquire about bulk rates. Good seller for stores too. Mail order \$5. 3/\$14 postpaid. Syracuse Peace Council, 924 Burnet Ave. Syracuse, NY 13203.

RADICAL GREETING CARDS! Marx, Debs, Lenin, Women, Workers. Envelopes included. 5/\$1.50, 10/\$2.50, 25/\$5.00. Postpaid. Red Rose Books, Box AA 471, Evanston, IL 60204.

### BOOKS

THREE MILE ISLAND was not the first near meltdown. For a frightening and true account, read WE AL-

MOST LOST DETROIT by John Fuller (\$4, postpaid). Also, NO NUKES, Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Energy by Anna Gyorgy (\$8) and ENERGY WAR, Reports from the Front, by Harvey Wasserman (\$5.95). For books and a free catalogue of explosive films about atomic energy contact:

Green Mountain Post, Box 177 B Montague, Mass. 01351 413/863-4754.

### ORGANIZATIONS

CORPUS—National Association Registered/Married Priests: Box 2649, Chicago 60690.

FOR A COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH IN MINNESOTA, contact the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Association, 3200 Chicago Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407

### AUDIO-VISUAL

SLIDE/TAPES FOR ORGANIZERS—Topics: anti-nuclear, clerical workers, urban displacement. For information: Community Media Productions, Inc., 215 Superior Ave., Dept. ITT, Dayton, OH 45406.

### BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

BUMPERSTICKERS: "DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM," "NATIONALIZE OIL," "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM PUTS PEOPLE FIRST." Send \$1.50/sticker to: DSOC, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

### HELP WANTED

MANAGEMENT OPPORTUNITY: Director of Circle Pines Center, a 41-year-old educational cooperative in southwestern Michigan. Responsible for overall operation of children's camp, family camp and year-round conference center. Facilitate good working relations with

resident staff using democratic decision-making techniques. Develop educational programs, conduct promotional activities, oversee business aspects and maintenance of forty buildings. Protect ecology of 286 acres. Direct inquiries and resumes no later than Jan. 31, 1980 to John Robbins, 1115 Spring St., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103.

FACULTY POSITIONS IN URBAN Planning at UCLA—The Urban Planning Program at UCLA anticipates openings for several visiting or tenure-track appointments in the fall of 1980, and solicits applications by January 15, 1980. The Urban Planning Program offers MA and PH.D. degrees and has sixteen faculty members and 160 graduate students. Teaching and research activities relate to the following areas: urban and regional development, social policy and public services, natural environment and resources, and the built environment. We have an active program in comparative and international studies, and an interest in critical studies applied to planning and social policy. Applicants should be qualified to teach in one or more of the following core methods: planning theory, planning methods, quantitative analysis, evaluation methods, applied economic analysis, or professional issues and development. Applicants should also have an established interest in and record of accomplishment in one or more of the following areas: urban land use policy, planning for minority (especially Hispanic) communities, community economic development, environmental planning, the relationship between the built and natural environments, urban design, urban fiscal policy and management, energy policy, planning policy to meet the needs of women, or sectoral planning (for transportation, housing, social services, etc.). Applicants will be selected on the basis of outstanding accomplishment and promise in the areas of applied profession-

al experience, published research, and teaching experience.

UCLA is an equal opportunity, affirmative action employer, and the Urban Planning Program especially encourages applications from women and members of minority groups. Candidates should send letters of inquiry, including curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of at least three persons who could be called on for letters of evaluation, to: Professor Martin Wachs, Chair Staffing Work Group Urban Planning Program School of Architecture and Urban Planning University of California, Los Angeles Los Angeles, California 90024

### ANDREW ANT THE ANARCHIST



Your children can read Disney, or they can follow the adventures of Andrew Ant as he struggles for socialism. Let them enjoy a beautifully illustrated radical children's book. Available for \$4.95 from Anarcho Press, c/o Bob Mendelson, 592 10th Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11215.

### Guild Bookstore 1118 W. Armitage Chicago, Ill. 60614

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German.

Tel. (312) 525-3667

### IN THESE TIMES CLASSIFIEDS

35¢ PER WORD PREPAID  
SPECIAL DISCOUNTS

3-9 INSERTIONS 30¢ PER WORD  
10-19 INSERTIONS 25¢ PER WORD  
20+ INSERTIONS 20¢ PER WORD

### SEND TO:

1509 N. MILWAUKEE AVE.  
CHICAGO, IL 60622



By Alan Snitow

You've probably already heard the news—the new age of telecommunications has arrived. Satellites, cable TV, videodiscs, optical fibers and other technologies for “interactive” communications will transform our society and even break the stranglehold of the conglomerate TV networks.

At our fingertips we will have a combined library, newspaper, mail order catalog, post office, classroom and theater. Cash and checks will be obsolete. Leisure will become a way of life, videogames a national obsession, boredom the major social problem.

“These glowing predictions are written every couple of years,” says sociologist Herbert Cans. “It's total nonsense.”

But many people accept much of this hyped vision of the future. Dominique Wolton, a European observer of our broadcast industry, has noted the widespread assumption that “the social possibilities of the new tools can be discovered simply by projecting their technical potential into social space.”

In fact, the next decade's changes in telecommunications will be defined by social struggles to open broadcasting to labor, women, minorities and consumers. The democratic potential of the new technologies will be realized only to the extent that these struggles are united and successful.

The recent battle over the Communications Act Rewrite illustrates the challenge to progressive movements in the years to come. This past year Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin, D-Calif., proposed an extensive rewrite of the 1934 Communications Act, one that would eliminate major public interest safeguards.

Local broadcasters would no longer be required to find out and serve community needs, to provide equal time for candidates, to present “diverging views” and to provide news and public affairs programming. Radio licenses would become permanent and radio broadcasters virtually invulnerable to public pressure. TV licenses would be similarly “deregulated” after 10 years. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) would be stripped of its responsibility to enforce equal opportunity in the broadcast industry.

Media reform organizations, the labor movement and many other groups sharply attacked the legislation. It was finally withdrawn, but not primarily through their efforts. Most observers credit the bill's demise to AT&T's decision that the bill required too many phone company concessions and to broadcasters' mixed feelings about the bill. A little deregulation is a good thing, apparently, but too much would remove the FCC's function as “heat shield,” which protects broadcasters against other political pressures from Congress, the White House or political action groups demanding access.

#### Union media.

For labor the deregulation fight was a change long in coming. Relying so long on Congress and the Democrats, labor's desire or even willingness to vie in the marketplace of ideas had virtually disappeared. Repeated defeats in Congress and the growing threat from the right finally forced organized labor to enter an arena it never should have left.

The Machinists (IAM) are paving the way back with a new program to monitor TV pro-

# STATE <sup>of</sup> the ART

## COMMUNICATIONS



## There's more than one way to use a satellite

*“Electrons have no morals” and progressives —so far—have little clout in telecommunications policy.*

gramming around the country to see how working people are portrayed. IAM president William Winpisinger aims to improve labor's image and to involve rank-and-file members in “a nationwide action program to achieve what we consider to be broadcast parity for American working men and women.”

The UAW has expanded its broadcast outreach with a new radio service that, however, is still limited to statements from high union officials.

Minority organizations have been more active than labor in pressuring commercial broadcasters. Backed by civil rights legislation and court decisions, they also have a stronger case in law for “broadcast parity.” As a result, unwilling broadcasters have been forced to address more directly the issue of hiring minorities. However, integration of broadcast stations has been too little and too slow. Coverage of minority communications declines as radio and TV stations target the middle-class youth audiences that produce the most sales for the advertising dollar.

In response, civil rights organizations are focusing increasingly on minority ownership of radio and TV stations, a decision that has brought some conflicts with other media reform groups. The National Black Media Coalition (NBMC) this year reached agreements with both General Electric and the Gannett Newspaper chain. The Coalition withdrew legal challenges to enormous broadcast mergers in return for concessions improving the position of blacks in the industry—most important-

ly, spin-off of several radio and TV stations to black owners. (This included a TV station in Rochester, N.Y., which will be the first black-owned major market station.) Although NBMC withdrew its legal challenges, other media groups did not.

The limited power of social movements to influence broadcast policy could change under a different administration, but there is little chance for significant change in commercial media. The concentration has already gone too far. A recent FCC staff study of the major networks admits that ABC, CBS and NBC are too economically entrenched to be threatened. The study points out that the three TV networks, their wholly owned major market stations and affiliates accounted for 91 percent of all TV profits in 1977. The study calls weakly for “structural changes” to increase the number of outlets for viewing alternatives.

#### Public and pressure.

Although structural change is a long road, it appears to be the only alternative to fighting eternally defensive battles with the networks. Reforming commercial broadcasting should be accompanied by developing alternative, reform media. The infrastructure is already there.

Any real hope for social change in the broadcast media will have to come primarily from public, non-commercial broadcasting, because public radio and TV are in the realm of public policy formation.

The major pressure group for public broadcasting is the federal government. Most of the fund-

ing for PBS and NPR comes from the federal treasury. As a result, there is little in the way of a buffer between PBS and NPR and political pressure in Congress and the White House.

In spite of repeated urgings, Congress has so far refused to create a buffer by designing a formula for funding public broadcasting.

The inadequacy of federal funding has resulted in another, perhaps more serious flaw. Corporate underwriting has become a major source of funds. Mobil Oil leads the way with TV and now radio Masterpiece Theater. Mobil has now even offered to underwrite part of the cost of PBS/NPR joint coverage of the Democratic and Republican conventions.

Thus far labor, minorities and other groups interested in social change have done little to affect policy in public broadcasting. Unlike the commercial networks, the public system is not yet entrenched, but its future is being planned now. In early 1980 the public broadcast satellite system goes into operation, creating vast new potential for a stronger national system. Unless progressive organizations and constituencies, individually and collectively make their interests known soon, the decisions will be made without them.

But lobbying pressure alone probably will not be enough. NPR and PBS stand on the shifting sands of Washington power relations. Some observers are already asking what NPR's relations with the White House will be if Edward Kennedy is elected. NPR president Frank Mankiewicz is a family friend

IN THESE TIMES DECEMBER 12-18, 1979 15

and advisor to previous Kennedys. If Mankiewicz moves on to a Kennedy White House, NPR and especially its news program *All Things Considered* will be in a delicate position.

No matter how much pressure is applied, PBS and NPR will probably never be the media of progressive constituencies. In an effort to compete with the commercial networks it duplicates too much of their internal organization. It also limits the role of independent producers and concentrates on reaching the upper-middle-class elite that provides most of the local base for the college stations that form the vast majority of NPR and PBS members.

The newest and fastest growing segment of public broadcasting is the community broadcast media. Community radio is, so far, the most developed of these, with an increasingly influential national organization in Washington, the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB).

These organizations are based on commitment to access and “listener-sponsorship.” As a result, these broadcasters have what Doug Fraser calls a “self-interest” in public service.

Community radio, video and cable are now only the fringe of the fringe in broadcasting. With access to the public broadcast satellite virtually assured, however, community based broadcasters could become the base for a “second service” in public broadcasting.

The community media need the commitment of those groups and organizations currently excluded from the commercial media. A national network of community-based broadcast organizations is an immediate possibility. It would provide a new source of pressure on public broadcast networks to respond to constituencies excluded from commercial media.

#### The crystal ball.

For the next three to five years at least, social change in broadcast media will require activist organizations to battle for access to commercial networks and affiliates. They must also push for increased involvement in policy making in PBS and NPR. Finally they must develop alternative local outlets and national networks based on listener sponsorship, community access and minority ownership.

The prospects for these new networks are now excellent. But creating noncommercial networks requires great financial and organizational resources. Independent broadcasters can only use new technologies if they are strong enough to take advantage of them and if they have enough money to buy into them. No matter how cheap the technologies may become, they are still beyond the current means of most community broadcast organizations. Without the rapid expansion of these as-yet fragile new broadcast groups, the other two elements of the above strategy are doomed to fail.

And so we return to the “new era in telecommunications,” with a prediction. “Electrons have no morals,” writes journalism professor Ben Bagdikian in *The Information Machines*. Those with the money to buy these amoral electrons will have access to the thoughts of the U.S. population in the decades ahead. Those who don't, won't. ■

Alan Snitow, long-time Pacifica radio news director in Berkeley, is working on development of a national newscast for community radio.



**T**HE ITEM NOTED THAT DOROTHY Healey, former leader of the Southern California Communist Party, would participate in a symposium at Long Beach State University, with four of the school's professors. The symposium would coincide with the opening of the Dorothy Ray Healey Collection of Communist literature in the university library. In the interest of observing time marching on, I dropped in.

Back in 1961 Healey was invited by a student group to speak at the same college. There was a predictable uproar on and off the campus. The Long Beach *Independent/Press-Telegram*, only daily newspaper in the city of 350,000, and thus highly influential, editorially proclaimed, "Admitted membership in the Communist Party is in itself reason enough for banning anyone from being accepted as a speaker at a state school. No question of civil rights is involved."

(Any Easterners cluck-clucking at such benighted editorial posture might be reminded that the *New York Times*—peculiarly invested by some leftists with a consistent constitutional and democratic integrity—had just six years earlier argued in an editorial that anyone who even professed "an adherence to Communist doctrine" should be barred from speaking at universities!)



The students and their faculty advisers who had invited Healey in '61 lost. She was invited again in 1967, and this time she made it. The Long Beach paper (for which by now this reporter was a wage slave, though with no impact on editorial policy) assured its readers that "no glitter-eyed Communist speaker is going to harm State College or its students." Comedy relief was provided by the valiant Long Beach City Council, which, in a blend of Early Agnew and Casey Stengese, declared that the invitation to Healey "demonstrates insipid disregard for even the most gross principles of human decency."

The '67 meeting came off all right, though the university maintained a white-gloved aloofness, and some student hostility and heckling created an air of tension.

And so to the present—two o'clock on a quiet Wednesday afternoon late 1979 at the Long Beach campus, largest in the state system with 29,000 students. Healey is now 65, no longer head of the Communist Party in southern California, nor even a member, though she calls herself a communist (small c) and revolutionary.

Up on the library's fifth floor, 10,000 pieces of party literature spanning 50 years have been collated, catalogued and are available for the use of students (I moan along with my fellow former-Communists—now they tell us we could have gotten money for all that stuff we threw away!).

Unlike journalists, Dorothy confesses to a reverence for the printed word. She never tossed out a single thing, keeping at least one of each, whether leaflet, pamphlet, directive, magazine, study outline, pre-convention discussion, program, or even a reprint of a three-hour report by Browder, Dennis or Foster. First thing seen by one coming off the library's fifth floor elevator is a showcase with a montage of front pages from Los Angeles newspapers showing the smashing-looking "Red Queen" in action, leading workers, speaking at demonstrations, being led away by police, and behind bars.

The symposium drew some 140 persons, mostly students—a much-better

than-usual attendance for an afternoon symposium. Healey came in with four university participants, from the disciplines of history, English, women's studies and American studies. Casually dressed, vivacious and assured, she is what people speak of as "amazingly

Dorothy addressed herself to the question with a hundred answers—why no significant socialist movement in this country? She thought one important factor was "the lack of a collective historic memory in this country."

"Because of this," she said, "there is

# The Life of the Party

BY LESTER RODNEY

*Barred from the campus in 1961, Dorothy Healey returns to Long Beach State, recalls a life of activism, and inaugurates a new library of left literature.*



*Healey was prosecuted under the Smith Act in 1949 and sentenced to 18 months in jail for contempt of court (above). The sentence was later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. With her son Richard (left). Addressing the 1979 convention of the New American Movement of which Healey is currently a member (right).*

young-looking for her age."

The atmosphere at the head table was one of warmth and mutual regard, stemming in part from working together on the collection. The prevailing attitude among the students seemed one of academic curiosity. One young woman in the row behind me could be heard whispering that she hadn't known what Healey would look like, but she knew her voice well from KPFFK, a Los Angeles radio station on which Dorothy speaks regularly.

really no great understanding of what has taken place historically. Each generation in a sense re-invents the political wheel."

Missing in conventional written history, she said, is the story of working class struggle and the important leftist role in the '30s, and here she thought a collection like hers might have some modest value.

"You know," she mused, "in France, for an example, you can walk into any factory and ask a worker what the Paris

Commune was, and chances are very good he will tell you. Walk into an American factory and ask what the origin of May Day is. If they heard of it, they think it is some Russian Communist celebration. They have no idea it started in this country in the fight for an eight-hour day, and spread from here around the world."

An animated murmur of surprise made clear that not only factory workers are ignorant of such American history. (I thought back to the Rodney's tour of the Soviet Union when a local guide in Siberia, obviously assuming we all knew of it, casually mentioned the American interventionist army of Gen. Graves, which landed in Vladivostok after the Russian revolution. We former Communists and the two Canadian members of the tour were the only ones who had ever heard of the intervention.)

## Feminism.

"I'm a little reluctant to ask this," said one faculty member with a smile, "but how was the matter of women dealt with in the party, what happened to feminists?"

Dorothy replied that many of the pamphlets in the collection dealt with women's right, demands for large-scale day care centers and equal pay.

"But basically," she added with a touch of ruefulness, "we saw it as a class thing. We never called ourselves feminists. That was bad, like the word nationalist. We would automatically append the word 'bourgeois' to each. We didn't see that oppression of women crossed class lines, that non-working class women were also exploited as women." She paused. "This was a copout." (And, may this reporter add, how we men in the party took advantage of it—whether gleefully or guiltily or somewhere in between, no matter—it was the woman coming home from her meeting who fixed dinner and did the housework.)

"Memory is a selective organ," Dorothy suggested. "I can remember with perfect clarity every time I was right on something within the party (laughter), but not when I was a damned fool or rigid bureaucrat."

An allied question came from a young black woman in the audience, who wanted to know to what Dorothy attributed the large turnover of blacks in the Communist party—what was missing "that made people like W.E.B. DuBois and Richard Wright and so many others leave."



Dorothy corrected her on DuBois, who actually joined the party late in his long life and died a member. "However," she said, "part of the problem was similar to that of women, the idea of nationalism, the 'class' approach. When there was a Women's Commission, there always had to be men on it to keep it from bourgeois feminism. Similarly a Negro Commission had to have whites on it to avoid black bourgeois nationalism. That was nonsense, of course."

"There were different reasons for there not being more black Communists. It's easier, you know, for a white Communist to be absorbed into American life. There was this saying that it's hard enough being black without being red too. Nonetheless, I must say there were many black comrades who came into the party and stayed, and many who played strong roles."

Another professor asked, "There is the problem of understanding the Communist experience in America. One encounters a certain coldness when one tries to get at it. I mean, what kind of

*Continued on page 12.*